THE NEW CONSERVATISM BY H. H. WILSON

THE Nation

January 22, 1955
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Frank Donner

The Miami Formula

An Exposé of Grass-Roots McCarthyism

Warnings from Bonn — *Carolus*

Slump in Textiles — *Bernard Nossiter*

Costa Rican Crisis — *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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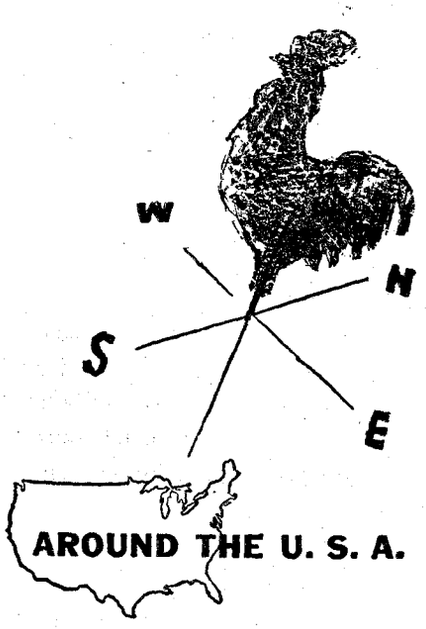

"The Enemies of My Children . . ."

Tacoma, Washington

WHEN the House Un-American Activities Committee met in Seattle last June, Margaret Jean Schudakopf, a fifty-year-old elementary-school counselor in Tacoma, invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether she had ever been a member of the Communist Party. On July 9 she was asked by the Tacoma School Board to explain her refusal to testify. "As I understand it," she said, "you start to say something and there is no point you can stop. You are directed to name names. . . . I didn't want to commit myself to any procedure that would compel me to name names." She said she was not a member of the Communist Party and had signed a state loyalty oath to that effect every year since 1951, but she declined to tell the board of her past associations. Her competence as a child counselor was not in question.

The school board withheld its decision until July 23; then it voted, three to two, to retain Mrs. Schudakopf. County School Superintendent Ruth Bethle reported that she was "swamped with protests" at the board's decision. The Schudakopf case has been heatedly discussed in Tacoma ever since.

The battle was really joined when the Edward B. Rhodes Post of the American Legion formed Citizens for America and passed the following resolution: "If the board fails to alter its decision, steps will be taken to recall those board members whose thinking is opposed to the committee. . . . We will devote every effort toward the elimination of any influence of doubtful quality from our schools." Colonel James Stack, chairman of the Legion committee, opened his campaign to save the minds of Tacoma school children with a letter to the editor of the Tacoma *News-Tribune* which said: "The asinine, arbitrary, and shocking decision of the school board is a tragic mistake. . . . My wife and I ask that you rally to the defense of Tacoma's youthful Americans. The enemies of my country are the enemies of my children." Another letter-writer said: "Mrs. Schudakopf has the American privilege of intellectual exploration. She knows the boundary line. She knew when she ceased to explore and stepped into foreign territory." Another declared of "Fifth Amendment teachers": "We don't need them in or near our schools. . . . Wake up, Daddy and Mommie." One letter ended: "God bless Colonel Stack and all those good Americans who flock to the defense of our children."

The Legion was supported by the Tacoma Rotary Club, the Young Men's Business Club, and the Temple Baptist Church, which passed appropriate resolutions urging the dismissal of Mrs. Schudakopf. It met no organized opposition until seven ministers issued a public statement which ran in part: "Our school board and the American public it represents must continue faithful in its obligation to respect the law and freedom it guarantees; and that must include the use of the Fifth Amendment as well as the respect for a person's right to a secret ballot and freedom of thought and speech without inquisition. Our first job is to assure all school personnel freedom from fear. Only then can we have the value of their creative thinking."

A MASS-MEETING called by Citizens for America attracted 360 people. Colonel Stack told the audience that the committee would take the case to the United States Supreme Court if necessary and asked for a free-will offering. A resolution was passed urging the revocation of Mrs. Schudakopf's certificate. The flag was saluted, the national anthem sung. Board members James Boze and Ray Kelly, who had voted to retain Mrs. Schudakopf, were impressed by the Legion's campaign and asked for an investigation by the state attorney general to determine whether Mrs. Schudakopf had committed perjury when she signed the loyalty oath. Kelly asked that she be suspended from her duties pending the investigation.

The Attorney General, Don Eastvold, suggested that neither Mrs. Schudakopf nor any other of Tacoma's one thousand teachers had taken a valid loyalty oath. They had failed, he ruled, to raise their right hand before a notary and had signed oaths not containing the words "under penalty of perjury." A thousand Tacoma teachers thereupon raised their right hands and reswore their loyalty. Mrs. Schudakopf signed the oath.

The Legion submitted petitions with 23,000 signatures to State Superintendent of Schools Pearl Wanamaker, asking that Mrs. Schudakopf's certificate be revoked—"after a hearing." The Tacoma school board then transferred Mrs. Schudakopf from her counseling positon to a clerical post in which she would have no contact with children.

Opponents of the $6,000,000 school bond issue which was on the September-election ballot based their argument on the Schudakopf case, urging a vote of no-confidence in Tacoma's un-American school board. County Superintendent Bethel, seeing her own reelection in danger, discovered an old state law that authorized her to dismiss a teacher without a hearing provided there was reason. Mrs. Bethel applied the law and suspended Mrs. Schudakopf. The reason she gave was that the public had "lost confidence in Mrs. Schudakopf to the extent where she is no longer of use to the school district, and her continued employment would be detrimental to the best interests of the district." Mrs. Bethel won reelection, but the bond issue failed.

The suspension has been appealed to State Superintendent Wanamaker. Meanwhile, the seven ministers who upheld Mrs. Schudakopf's invocation of the Fifth Amendment have formed a Committee for Basic Freedoms and resolved to carry on the struggle.

Mrs. Schudakopf considers her stand a matter of principle. She will not drop her fight, nor will she reveal her past associations. Her attorney, Kenneth MacDonald of Seattle, is prepared to take the case through the courts if necessary. "If we give in to the Legion on this," he says, "next time it will be a Legion investigation of textbooks, and the Legion will get its way."

JAY G. SYKES

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THE Nation
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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Reassuring Restraint

The best omen connected with the Hammarskjold mission to Peking is the discretion so far exercised by all concerned. How long this would last was a question as the week began; Senatorial mutterings and demands for quick action were already beginning to be heard. The Administration itself had evidently been advised by the United Nation's Secretary General that release of the fliers was likely, but dependent on American restraint. The President and Mr. Dulles counseled patience, Mr. Eisenhower urging support of U. N. efforts "as long as those efforts hold out any promise of success." Mr. Lodge expressed confidence that the fliers would be freed.

All this is reassuring, for it seems to betoken, first, a genuine desire on the part of the Administration to reach agreement rather than make cold-war capital out of the imprisonment of the fliers, and, second, a willingness to strengthen the hand of the U. N. Success would be a victory for the slowly emerging policy of détente, as well as for the U. S.–U. N. position. And this, in the longer run, offers the prospect of advantages to the Chinese even though no bargain was struck in Peking. If Mr. Hammarskjold has managed to make these points clear to both Peking and Washington, important benefits may flow from his venture in U. N. diplomacy—in addition to the return of the imprisoned fliers.

Same Ticket, New Tactic

The latest of three White House stag dinners, all billed as political prayer meetings, found Mr. Dewey expressing the "prayerful hope" that the Republicans would select "the same ticket" in 1956. There are signs, too, that these helpful petitions have been given hopeful answers. The swiftness with which the President and the Republican leadership moved to check the mounting criticism of Vice-President Nixon, the President's post-election emphasis on building the Republican Party along "moderate progressive" lines, and the drift from the conservatism of his first State of the Union message reflected in his second are all signs of the continuing efficacy of prayer in Republican circles. The distance which the President has shifted from the budget-balancing conservatism of his first message may seem slight, but its significance can be measured by the quickness with which it was spotted by conservative commentators.

Mr. Eisenhower has been so successfully typed as a "middle-of-the-roader" that any shift in his stand necessarily shifts the entire political scenery. Tactically he has moved into a strong position. The Democrats must not lose any time in developing a set of issues that will sharply differentiate them from "moderate progressives" if they are to defeat an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in 1956. The only new ground the Democrats can occupy—it is certainly vacant—is to the left of the President. But with the key Congressional posts occupied by Southerners, the Democrats cannot move left of the Mason-Dixon Line, not even by intoning Dixon-Yates on all occasions. Just as the Senate liberals were embarrassed by Senator Lehman's lonely insistence on civil rights, so the liberal Democratic National Committee technicians were embarrassed to discover that Assistant Secretary of State Walter Robertson had undercut their criticisms of the Formosa treaty by going to Senator George before the negotiations were concluded. By shifting the middle of the political road to the left, the President has increased the power of the center in both parties.

Textile Labor: Another Chapter

Bernard Nossiter's piece on page 72 of this issue will bring our readers abreast of some recent developments affecting textile labor. Having followed these developments with consistent interest (see Strife in the Textile Union by Ralph Lowenstein, April 26, 1953, and Trouble in Textiles by Keith Hutchison, May 3 and 10, 1953), we can't resist the temptation to add an editorial footnote to Mr. Nossiter's article. The textile market has a "stop-and-go" character which is related in part to the instability of raw-material prices—the natural fibers for cotton, wool, silk, have shown wide price fluctuations in the past—and in part to the relative ease with which peak production can be attained in soft goods. Raw-material costs, as well as labor costs, have been an extremely important factor in pricing textile products. But as the man-made fibers become more popular, the raw-material market may be stabilized, and at the same time new markets may be opened up, for instance, in the industrial-fabric field.

In failing to recognize the implication of technological trends in the industry and to encourage new industries in which the skilled textile worker could command higher wages, the New England mill towns made a grave error.

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That so many of these communities were controlled by textile interests may account for the strategic miscalculation. The woolen side of the industry in particular has always had a reputation for stubbornly discounting the importance of technological innovations. The management of American Woolen, for example, continued to insist that the new fibers would disappear long after it was apparent they were here to stay. For better or worse, the shift of textiles to the South is now nearly complete. It is unfortunate but not surprising that Southern textile workers should be repeating the initial experience of New England textile workers. At the outset the Irish and French Canadians did not clamor to be organized in the mills of Lowell, Fall River, and New Bedford. But Southern labor should assimilate industrial experience more rapidly. In "luring" textiles from New England the South has unwittingly affixed the union label to its future products.

Competitive Coexistence

While Russian and Indian technicians are working out the final details of an agreement under which the Soviet Union will finance and build a steel plant for the Government of India, it is reported that the British are also offering to build one. The Soviet-built plant will be larger and will cost less to build.

An earlier offer of the British was turned down in favor of the Russians, but apparently not because of the differences noted, important as they appear to be. The deciding factor was Soviet willingness to build a state-owned enterprise in contrast to Britain's interest in one privately owned. But with the Russian deal apparently set, London changed its mind and echoed the Soviet offer to build a plant directly for the government of India. The British are described as interested not in investing in the plant but in selling the steel-making equipment, and A. R. W. Low, British Minister of State now in New Delhi for trade talks, says the prospects are good that the British offer will be accepted.

So the Indians are likely to emerge with two steel plants with benefits accruing to themselves, to the Russians, and to the British. If this is a sample of competitive coexistence, it is a welcome augury.

Default by the West

An agreement signed in Amsterdam in 1949 giving the Indonesians independence from the Dutch stipulated that the status of West New Guinea, a Dutch territory, should be decided within a year by negotiations between the new sovereign state of Indonesia and the Netherlands. Talks went on for four years, however, with nothing accomplished, and the problem was finally submitted to the last session of the General Assembly. The Political Committee recommended that "new negotia-

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tions" be started, but the recommendation was defeated on the Assembly floor through the last-minute switch of a few votes. Thus the West defaulted on another opportunity to counter the powerful anti-colonial appeal of Asian communism.

This is not to say that the U. N. should have awarded the territory to Indonesia out of hand. While the Dutch do not belong in West New Guinea and have done very little for the 700,000 people who live in it, it is clear that struggling Indonesia is in no position to take on the new task of administering an area as large as France and inhabited by people of totally different race and culture. The U. N., instead of turning away from the issue, could have offered to take a hand in governing West New Guinea during this interim. The U. N. trustee system was set up for just such purposes.

Costa Rican Crisis . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

AT THE moment of writing the military situation in Costa Rica still seems shrouded in uncertainty. But whatever happens, the attack on this little Central American republic, so greatly respected for its democracy, liberal ideas, and intellectual life, is of great importance as a reminder of the past and a lesson for the future.

The beginning of the episode has been widely reported. On January 11 the Costa Rican town of Villa Quesada was seized by a small but well-armed rebel force. The Costa Rican police force was dispatched to meet the rebels, but the character and the extent of the coup become evident when several rebel planes appeared over Costa Rican territory. The Costa Rican embassy at Washington declared that the attack had come from across the Nicaraguan border.

The invasion started only a few hours after the Nicaraguan chargé d'affaires at San José had been declared *persona non grata* because of his undiplomatic denunciations of the Figueres administration, his public allegation that Costa Rica was in a state of great political tension, and some absurd references to pro-Communist sympathies on the part of President Figueres. The last item was particularly ridiculous because Figueres has been in open conflict with the Communists since the day he assumed the Presidency; the Communist Party has been outlawed in Costa Rica. But the allegation proves again that the Latin American dictators are convinced that the surest way to obtain money, arms, and political and diplomatic favor from Washington is by pretending that they are busy defending the Western hemisphere against partisans of Moscow.

The Costa Rican government did not turn, as did the Guatemalan government last summer, to the United Nations, but submitted its case to the Organization of American States. It realized that, in contrast with the aggression against Guatemala, no big American private interests such as those of the United Fruit Company were directly involved and that therefore speedy action on the part of the O. A. S. might this time be expected. The O. A. S., once dubbed by a witty and cynical Latin American diplomat "la Celestina de los Dictadores," this time showed itself ready and anxious to regain its lost prestige. When the council of the organization met to consider an accusation by Costa Rica that Nicaragua was planning to attack it, some of its members suggested that one of the first points to clarify was the origin of the planes that had been sighted over Costa Rican territory, whereupon the Ambassador of El Salvador remarked: "Are we going to waste much time settling that question? Everybody knows perfectly well from where they come!"—and his eyes turned undiplomatically toward Nicaragua's representative.

Of course there are Costa Ricans in the rebel ranks. Two different groups have been opposing Figueres. One comprises the followers of Teodoro Picado, former president-dictator, whose corrupt regime Figueres overthrew in 1948 with the backing of the people. Picado took refuge in Nicaragua, where he has served as Somoza's close adviser, while his son, Teodoro, Jr., a graduate of West Point, is leading the forces which crossed the border into Costa Rica. In 1953 Figueres was chosen president by an overwhelming majority in free elections. The second group represents those whose private economic interests conflict with the progressive social program of the President. But as the Reverend B. Nunez, the intelligent Catholic priest who represents Costa Rica in the United Nations, told me in convincing detail, both groups together would never have been able to launch the revolt without the full support of the Nicaraguan dictator. Explained Father Nunez: "We are witnessing another adventure on the part of the 'International of the Saber.' The dictators of Latin America naturally want to see their numbers increased. They will feel really secure only if no free government exists in the hemisphere."

THE invasion of Costa Rica cannot be separated from the last aggression against Guatemala. Both were the inevitable result of a policy which, in Latin America as in Asia and the Middle East, confers favors on reactionary dictators who put their "sabers" at the disposal of the anti-Communist crusade. In the present case, all the Latin American delegates to the U. N. with whom I spoke agree that the United States had no hand in backing the Costa Rican rebels; the State Department cooperated with the O. A. S. observation commission and was quick to sell a couple of fighter planes to the Figueres government once Nicaraguan complicity in the revolt was established. Even so, some members of the opposition to Figueres served in the United States-backed forces of Castillo Armas against Guatemala, and after the aggression succeeded, were indiscreet enough to say publicly that the fall of Figueres ought to be "the second clean-up operation in Central America."

All those disaffected with the Figueres

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government had put themselves under the protection of General Anastasio Somoza. Although the Nicaraguan dictator has for a long time been a favorite in Washington his record is a gaudy one. "Tacho" inherited violence and lust of power from his ancestors. His grandfather, to quote a Nicaraguan historian, was "a ferocious and bloody bandit who ended his career on the gallows" in 1849. On the morning of his departure from the earth he ceremoniously knotted a clean white kerchief about his throat to protect it from the scar of the hangman's knot. He said he wanted everything done cleanly. The grandfather put haciendas and coffee plantations to the torch. His grandson has put them into his pocket. Among other items, General Somoza is said to own 50 houses, 52 ranches, 46 coffee plantations, 18 farms, 8 sugar plantations and mills, 13 industrial plants, 76 urban and 16 rural unimproved properties, in addition to which he is credited with a ranch in Costa Rica, an estate in Canada, and three apartment houses in Miami. Small wonder if he lacks sympathy for a neighboring regime trying to carry out an agrarian reform.

The O. A. S. has been quick in establishing and proclaiming Nicaragua's hand in the invasion. One must wait to see whether it fulfils with equal zeal the complementary duties set forth in the O. A. S. charter and supplemented by the terms of the Rio pact, which bind its members to take collective action in case of aggression or the threat of aggression. It would be a tragedy if Costa Rica's decision to use the regional machinery instead of the U. N. were to result in a whitewash or a mere rebuke to the guilty party. The failure of the Security Council to act in the case of Guatemala last summer may well have served as reassurance—and invitation—to the promoters of the present invasion. The O. A. S. should follow up its prompt findings with appropriate sanctions. Otherwise victims of aggression in the Western Hemisphere will be likely to feel they have no place to turn in spite of all the pacts they have signed.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

Washington

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S press conference this week, his first in the new year, revealed both his strength and his weakness. In discussing the President one must always distinguish between the man and the statesman. He is an easy man to like. Doubts arise only when one begins to consider him as a national leader.

Yet even here criticism must be cautious if it is to be accurate. Reporters who watch the President in Washington may fail to measure events with enough perspective. They may be irritated by his mistakes; yet the country may hardly notice them. They may complain that he fails to exercise the full powers of the Presidency; the country may think it is time that part of the initiative went back to Congress and the states. They may criticize his weakness in defending the rights of the executive branch; the country may interpret this reluctance as a dignified refusal to quarrel with every foe who wants to start an argument. The shadow cast by the White House is big enough to cover the land. Mr. Eisenhower knows that, and therefore he remains calmly indifferent to the catalogue of his incidental blunders. He has succeeded in creating standards of judgment in which only the big things are allowed to count.

There is, in fact, almost no precedent for this achievement. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Truman would have been allowed to play by these rules. Only once did Mr. Eisenhower lose control of his press conference. That came when the correspondents rose in anger at Mr. Brownell's attack on Mr. Truman. On that occasion the President's remoteness from the facts was just too uncomfortable to be accepted. But this was the exception.

Few reporters now expect the President to show any detailed knowledge of economic questions. They have learned to be content with mere statements of principle and, surprisingly, have become grateful for these fluent obscurities. What is still more surprising, the President has somehow managed to remain untouched by the confusions and contradictions of American foreign policy as expounded by Mr. Dulles. At best Mr. Dulles is a figure of ramshackle wisdom, and yet his mistakes never seem to rub off on Mr. Eisenhower. The President not only stands aloof from the party conflict; he also has insulated himself to an astonishing degree from the blunders of his own Cabinet.

NEVER was this habit better illustrated than at this opening press conference. His remarks on the Ladejinsky case were so confused that they later brought a statement of clarification from the White House. But the fact stands on record that he tried to force the burden of responsibility on Mr. Stassen instead of accepting it himself. That seems a curious way to run the Presidency.

Equally regrettable is his refusal to accept a commission to review the security problem. Why is the President so reluctant to appoint this commission? He showed no similar reluctance in naming other commissions. Has he been urged by some of his advisers to keep these security questions alive and embittered for political reasons? He appears unable to realize that public confidence, shaken by recent events, will be restored only when some outside judgment is allowed to operate. The executive branch no longer has clean hands in this matter.

The President fails to understand the wreckage and misery caused by this cruel system. The one thing more surprising than this failure in understanding, this defect of compassion, is his refusal to understand why so much justified bitterness should be aroused by Vice-President Nixon's performances as a merchant of

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suspicion and hate on the political platform.

President Eisenhower's opposition to a commission on security will of course darken the prospects for Senator Humphrey's motion. Senator Humphrey wanted to present that motion some days ago, but he decided to delay in order to get more support from the Republicans. He still thinks the resolution has a good chance of success. The White House will change its policy if Congress remains sufficiently stubborn in a just cause. Will it not be an irony and anomaly if Congress wants to review the security program while the Executive stands hesitant and perplexed?

Too much, perhaps, has been made of Senator Humphrey's motion in comparing his plan to a royal commission. Under the British system all political controversy on a specific issue must cease the moment a royal commission is appointed to examine it. Nothing like that is possible in the American system. But at least the creation of a commission, with members drawn from Congress and the executive branch and the public, would serve to put the debate on security under some measure of judicial restraint. For that reason, if for no other, the campaign by Senator Humphrey deserves support. The fate of his resolution will be watched with interest.

WEAK and confused on issues of personal security, the President was at his best in explaining his policies for national security. He has always refused to be a bully with the atom bomb. The significance of his admission that atomic weapons can never be used except when the world political situation justifies their employment was at once recognized in Washington. By this statement the President put the Pentagon on notice that no impulsive short-cuts to danger will be followed. He also reassured America's allies that he personally would assume responsibility for the use of atomic weapons in battle, for no one except the President can make this ultimate assessment of the world situation.

Some people have tried to conjure up a conflict on this point between Admiral Radford and the President. No conflict exists. Admiral Radford on his return from the Far East told reporters, it is true, that the United States would not hesitate to use atomic weapons, if necessary, to repel an armed attack. But he was thinking of a renewal of "major aggression" in Korea. The President was discussing internal subversion rather than Communist aggression, and his remarks applied to all danger points rather than to Korea alone.

Even Admiral Radford was careful to say that a blockade against China should be applied by Allied action, preferably under the standard of the United Nations. Senator Knowland has bitter emotion on his side but not the reflective judgment of this city. Neither anger nor indignation has been allowed to shape the comments of leading members of Congress. This restraint has opened the area of diplomacy to the State Department. In seeking to avoid peace with dishonor Washington is equally resolved to avoid stumbling into a war. If the mood of this city is caution without timidity, it also is resolution without provocation.

THE MIAMI FORMULA

Grass-Roots McCarthyism . . *by Frank Donner*

Miami

SINCE *The Nation* reported on the Red Hunt in Miami in its issue of August 7, 1954, events have converted this vacation land into a unique symbol of organized repression. County officials, the local press, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with some aid from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Velde committee), have produced what can be termed the "Miami formula" for making McCarthyism work at the grass roots.

More than a hundred persons have been subpoenaed to testify about their political beliefs and affiliations before the Dade County grand jury and in the office of George A. Brautigam, state attorney. Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination have been convicted of contempt, thirty of them receiving jail sentences of one year. Established legal procedures were repeatedly and flagrantly violated; in one instance a judge issued orders from the bench based on events in a grand-jury room which had not yet taken place; in another, involving the disbarment of a local attorney for pleading the Fifth Amendment, the man who had instigated the action sat as judge in the proceedings. Citizens of the community who for years enjoyed excellent reputations have been smeared by the press, in some instances with catastrophic economic consequences to them and their families.

The target is not just the Communist. The current campaign originated in a grand-jury investigation in January, 1954, of the politics of a Miami Beach councilman active in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Witnesses have been questioned intensively about membership in such organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the F. D. R. Club, the American Veterans Committee, and the Progressive Party. One witness was asked about postcards mailed to Florida's Senators protesting the Walter-McCarran immigration act. It is noteworthy that the first peak of the campaign of repression was reached in the months immediately following the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision. According to the Miami *Herald* of August 29, 1954, a University of Miami research group reported to state Attorney Gen-

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eral Richard Ervin that "competent officials have been reluctant to take initial steps [toward integration] for fear of being branded Communists." W. Hayden Hamilton, president of Florida States' Rights, Inc., has charged that Communists were behind the move for immediate enforcement of the desegregation decision.

An ugly thread of anti-Semitism also runs through the campaign. Twenty-nine of the thirty-one persons convicted of contempt were Jews, including five leaders of Jewish community groups. The Miami Jewish Cultural Center has been a repeated object of grand-jury investigations and on at least one occasion of a bomb threat. In recent weeks a number of new witnesses have been subpoenaed, all of them Jewish; included among them were the cantor of a synagogue whose spiritual leaders had been actively resisting the witch hunt.

I have referred to a "first" peak in the Miami story. A second is still to come. The Miami formula can be said to have evolved in two stages, the first of which ended recently when the Florida Supreme Court completed the reversal of all thirty-one contempt convictions. The reversals were based on United States Supreme Court precedents which clearly established the right of witnesses in political investigations to invoke the Fifth Amendment. But in closing one avenue of prosecution the Florida Supreme Court opened another by suggesting in its decision that state anti-subversion statutes make it an element of a crime to be a member of the Communist Party or of a "Communist-front" organization.

Snatching victory from defeat, State Attorney Brautigam immediately announced to the press that the court's decision was "just what we are looking for. Now we can go forward and seek indictments on mere membership in the Communist conspiracy." Early last week he declared that he would seek the first of the new indictments within a fortnight. The *Daily News* reported this development on January 12:

> "Up to a point," [Brautigam] said, "we are following somewhat the same order of procedure in the investigation as we did before the state supreme court decision. We question persons first in my office. If they invoke the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination, they then are subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury."

Brandel

Representative Velde

Those who continue to refuse to answer inquiries before the grand jury, he indicated, will be subject to indictment as members of the Communist Party conspiracy against the state of Florida. Anyone who has been involved in any way in a continuing conspiracy such as the Communist Party, the prosecutor explained, cannot quit merely by "ceasing active participation." "In the eyes of the law," Brautigam said, "once a Communist always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise."

In short, Brautigam proposes to obtain indictments against those who plead the privilege and prove his case by evidence of mere past membership in a proscribed organization. As this is written, fifteen persons have already been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on January 20, according to the *Daily New* report, which adds that Brautigam expects to include in the new series of indictments "many of the thirty-one Miamians" previously convicted of contempt and freed by the state Supreme Court.

The scene is now set for the second stage of the evolving Miami story, which for months was a sensation in the local press but never got out to the country at large. The story is worth detailed study as an example of how vigilantism can flourish behind a façade of legality and as a dangerous pattern for similar campaigns of repression elsewhere in the United States, under local auspices and away from the spotlight of Washington.

The Hirsch Case

THE case of Samuel Hirsch, a Miami theater man, gives the flavor of what has been happening here. Hirsch was indicted by Brautigam's grand jury on eight counts—each count carrying a penalty of twenty years' imprisonment—charging perjury in denying Communist Party membership and in denying certain activities on the University of North Carolina campus in 1946-48. The leading witness against Hirsch is Ralph V. Long, an F. B. I. informer now living in Durham, North Carolina. The Miami *Daily News* and its Red "expert," Damon Runyon, Jr., are promoting the affair as a "little Hiss case" and a "rewrite of the famed Hiss-Chambers drama." But it may be that the *Daily News* is gloating too soon. The man who is supposed to bring Hirsch to trial, Dade County Solicitor John Marsh, has as yet made no move to do so. "Florida law," explained Mr. Marsh publicly, "requires that we have at least two witnesses to substantiate a perjury charge. So far my office has found the grand jury's indictments of eight counts against Hirsch were based on testimony of one witness [Long] in some counts and none in others." Mr. Marsh also stated that in his view political investigations were frequently directed at "sincere liberals," adding wryly that he hoped he would not be called a Communist for so thinking.

The Velde committee held its Miami hearings from November 29 to December 1, after Hirsch had been indicted. Long's testimony was the chief feature of the session; it drew from Chairman Velde the comment that here was "one of the most outstanding witnesses ever to appear before this committee." In view of this praise Long's history is worth some study. At the time of his appearance in Miami his home-town newspaper, the Durham, North Carolina, *Morning Herald,* had this to say about him:

> Long has a police record extending from September 11, 1949, through November 3, 1954. He has been tried twenty times for public drunkenness and each time has either served time, paid a fine, or appealed the judgment to the Superior Court. Several of the appeals are now pending. In addition, Long has been tried twice for disorderly conduct and twice for assault and battery. A nol pross with leave was taken in the first case of disorderly conduct, while Long paid court costs in the second. The first case of assault and battery was nol prossed; no disposition was recorded in the second.

Long's twenty-first conviction for drunkenness came on November 4, less

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than a month before his appearance before the committee. Apparently his thirst overcame him again only a few days after he returned from Miami, for the records of the Recorder's Court in Durham, as printed in the *Morning Herald* of December 7, show that on December 6 he was again found guilty of drunkenness and sentenced to thirty days. It was his twenty-second conviction in five years (see photostat reproduced on this page).

The handling of Hirsch by the committee was on a par with the use of a confirmed drunkard as a leading witness. Although Hirsch faced a serious criminal trial, he was subpoenaed to testify on the very issues involved in the perjury case against him. Long was a surprise witness and Hirsch had no opportunity to cross-examine him and no protection against incompetent, hearsay, and opinion evidence which, smeared over the first pages of the Miami newspapers, poisoned public opinion against him in advance of his trial. The committee gave the screw a final twist by turning his testimony over to the Justice Department for possible federal perjury prosecution.

The Velde hearings did show one thing on the plus side—namely, that at least some informers may come to be without honor in their own country, even when their own country is Miami. This was the first investigation of subversion here without benefit of Paul Crouch, informer extraordinary, who is no longer used by the F. B. I. and whom Attorney General Brownell has promised to investigate.

The Press

THE heart of the Miami formula is the press, especially the Miami *Daily News*, which for six years has been systematically shocking the community with Red scares. In 1948 the newspaper "covered" a public meeting addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist leader, by printing pictures of the audience and telling its readers that the center of subversion in the United States had shifted from California to Miami. In 1949 the newspaper repeated the tactic, this time in connection with a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Then it called upon Paul Crouch for a series of articles which elaborated the thesis that Miami was the hub of an international Red network covering Latin America. Crouch's charges that Armand Scala, a Pan-American employee, was a Communist courier between the United States and Latin America resulted in a successful libel suit. But Scala's legal victory did nothing to lessen the fear and intimidation which by this time had engulfed a sizable portion of Miami's permanent community. Liberal organizations purged their memberships of "radical" suspects; liberals themselves retired from organizations which they thought might be vulnerable; many persons left the community altogether.

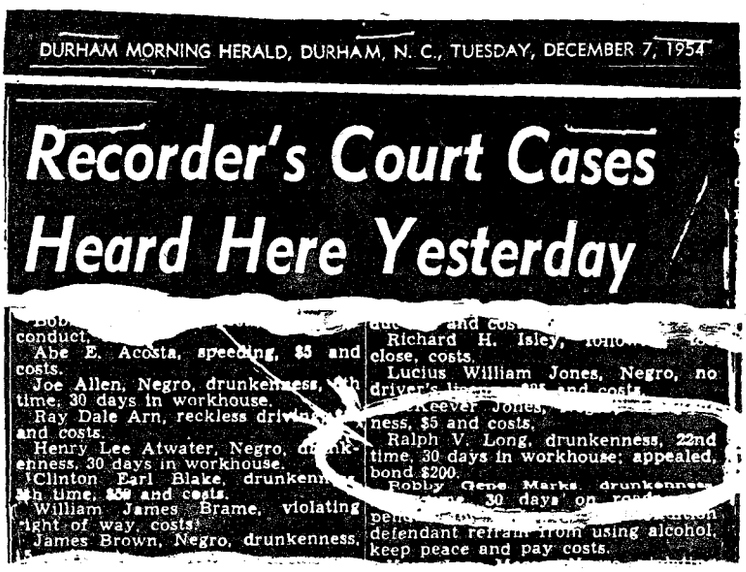
Then and since, the *Daily News* has exploited the familiar types of witch-hunt propaganda—the irresponsible listing of individuals prominent in liberal movements as Reds or subversives and the political horror story giving a hair-raising account of espionage and sabotage. Specialists in this field have been Crouch ("The Reds infiltrated Miami as a dispatch point for couriers to revolutionaries in Latin America"); Joseph Mazzei ("The Reds tried to take over the Opa-locka naval station as an invasion base for the Red Army"); and Al Spears, who seems to think the Reds have been trying to convert Opa-locka into a model Soviet village. There are other types—the public repentance story ("I was lonely and the Reds made a dupe out of me"); and the padded reports of former undercover F. B. I. agents ("Now my breathtaking adventures can be told").

The *Daily News* coupled these scare stories with constant urgings to readers to "repent" or "inform," preferably of course in the newspaper's own columns. Of a witness who had remained silent under interrogation Runyon remarked that had he agreed to testify he would have come to no more grief "than such talking ex-Communists as Whittaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, and Paul Crouch. He might've even wound up writing—with the aid of some itinerant rewrite man—the story of his Red life." The newspaper has been as adept with the carrot as with the stick.

In June, 1954, Runyon collaborated with Al Spears, who claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent, on a series of articles charging that at least three hundred card-holding Communists lived in the area and complaining that all of them still seemed able to earn a living. Actually about fifty alleged Reds were named, many of them on hearsay evidence. The series also smeared organizations which had never before been charged with subversion, among them the F. D. R. Club, a Miami Beach discussion forum, and the First Unitarian Church of Miami.

Far from being an abstract exercise in the art of smearing, the articles had highly practical results. Runyon had been claiming that witnesses before a previous grand jury had shown reluctance to inform. Now a new grand-jury investigation was started, and most of the individuals named in the *Daily News* articles were supoenaed for questioning. Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that the newspaper treated the investigation as its own private journalistic fief. We shall see later how Brautigam, conducting the proceedings, used the press for his purposes.

Runyon had a field day as the grand


DURHAM MORNING HERALD, DURHAM, N. C., TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1954

Recorder's Court Cases Heard Here Yesterday

conduct.
Abe E. Acosta, speeding, $5 and costs.
Joe Allen, Negro, drunkenness, ... time, 30 days in workhouse.
Ray Dale Arn, reckless driving ... and costs.
Henry Lee Atwater, Negro, drunkenness, 30 days in workhouse.
Clinton Earl Blake, drunkenness ... time, $50 and costs.
William James Brame, violating right of way, costs.
James Brown, Negro, drunkenness ... and costs.
Richard H. Isley, ... close, costs.
Lucius William Jones, Negro, no driver's ... and costs.
... ness, $5 and costs.
Ralph V. Long, drunkenness, 22nd time, 30 days in workhouse; appealed, bond $200.
Bobby Gene Marks, drunkenness, 30 days ... on roads.
... defendant refrain from using alcohol, keep peace and pay costs.

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jury ground out subpoenas and contempt-actions. "The Communist Party in Miami," he wrote, "already has complete plans of the stockade [the new police lock-up], which were obtained in anticipation that all would be rounded up when Soviet Russia attacks the United States." In another article he wrote: "The Communist Party's method of preying on lonely people was described yesterday by a pretty German girl, a former atomic-bomb technician, who said she unwittingly fell into Communist hands." The story was illustrated with a photograph of the girl—in a scanty sun suit, of course—bearing the caption, "I was lonely . . ." The disbarment of the local attorney who pleaded the Fifth Amendment brought from Runyon the announcement: "The legal arm of the Communist Party [has been] smashed." When the disbarred lawyer moved away from Miami, the *Daily News* carried a huge front-page headline, "New Czar for Reds in Miami," but who the new "czar" was or where he came from the newspaper has never bothered to say, then or since.

Runyon's inventiveness was wide-ranging. "Reds' Safety in Jail Feared as Inmates 'Haze' Smolikoff," ran the headline over a story which reported that Charles Smolikoff, one of the men jailed for contempt, had been beaten by fellow-prisoners in an effort to make him sing patriotic songs "backward and forward." The *Daily News* ran the story for a full day after it had been denied by the sheriff.

Max Shlafrock, another of the contempt-charge victims, was pilloried by Runyon when an advertisement over Shlafrock's name appeared in the *Sunday Worker* congratulating the Communist newspaper on its thirtieth anniversary. The *Daily News* did print Shlafrock's denial that he had sent the advertisement. Subsequently the contractor established that he had been the victim of a frame-up; both the order for the advertisement and the check accompanying it had been forged; the check had been drawn on a bank in which Shlafrock had no account. But the exposure of the fraud did not save the victim, a contractor who had received official commendation from the Miami municipality for his building activities, from economic ruin. The buildings he had already put up were checked for sabotage!

The pattern of frame-up is widespread. Even letters sent to the editor of the *Daily News* have been used. In 1949 a letter received by the newspaper over the name of a young Miamian, Walter Marks, said: "I am a Communist and proud of it. . . . I defy you to have a representative of your filthy yellow, capitalistic, reactionary press interview me." Marks denied he ever sent the letter, a denial which in the circumstances can certainly be believed. Marks recalls that he received a large shipment of Communist literature while he was in the army during the war from someone who faked a sender's name and address. Similar entrapment maneuvers are in use in Miami today. Individuals named in the press in connection with the witch hunt often receive "dear comrade" letters which seek to involve them in fantastic conspiratorial adventures.

"For heaven's sake, use more restraint than I did!"

The State Attorney

THE reversal of the convictions Brautigam obtained in the contempt cases is not the only blow he has suffered in the course of his career as state attorney. According to the Miami *Herald,* former Acting Governor Charley Jones, disturbed by the prevalence of gambling, prostitution, and other crimes in Dade County, threatened several times to suspend or transfer Brautigam. Each time Brautigam's supporters insisted that such action would impede the investigation into subversion. Finally in November, shortly before his term ended, the Acting Governor transferred Brautigam to Pensacola on the ground that a Dade County murder case was being mishandled. The State Attorney has only just returned from his "exile" and has told friends that he intends to get right back into his holy crusade against Reds.

Basic to the Miami formula is the use of government machinery for extra-legal purposes. Brautigam, arguing for his contempt convictions, insisted that his witnesses had no right to plead the self-incriminating privilege because he was not investigating whether crimes had been committed but was merely in-

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quiring about their affiliations and associations during a period antedating the statute of limitations. But this argument disregards the fact that a state attorney and a grand jury have power to inquire only into the commission of crimes and certainly have no power to exact disclosure of private matters unless they are relevant to that purpose. In using the threat of a contempt indictment to force confessions of political heresy rather than as a means of removing obstructions to the discovery of crime, Brautigam has extended the frontiers of the witch hunt. There is an obvious parallel between these tactics and the ones used by Congressional committees which, without legislative purpose, seek to jail witnesses for contempt because they refuse to "expose" themselves or become informers.

On another occasion Brautigam sought to justify his line of questioning by declaring that he was only trying to find out whether Communists had been receiving any pension or welfare benefits in violation of law. None of the witnesses called were shown to have received any such benefits.

While in "exile" in Pensacola, Brautigam was reported in the Pensacola press to have made a speech in which he boasted that he was in charge of a secret organization of fifty Dade County attorneys who reported regularly to his office on what was happening throughout the county on the "subversion" front. He referred to the group as a "little F. B. I." At the same time he announced plans to interrogate five Dade County lawyers who, he hinted, had instructed witnesses on how to evade the law. From Miami he sent out chain letters to prominent McCarthyites throughout the country boasting of the effective results he had been achieving in his own bailiwick.

Starting from a premise which the state Supreme Court has since declared to be false, Brautigam handled the witnesses with a remarkable disregard for both common decency and common legal practice. It was not unusual for subpoenas to be served in the dead of night or before dawn. In one case a subpoena was served upon a sick woman whose husband had already been indicted and jailed. When a doctor certified that her illness prevented her from answering the subpoena, he was himself subpoenaed. The woman's sickroom was then broken into by another server, and this time she was forced to answer, was cited for contempt, and jailed despite her illness. The woman's father, suffering from a heart condition, was likewise subpoenaed and was excused only after his physician had courageously warned Brautigam's office that response would be fatal. In another case a subpoena was served on a woman in a maternity ward who had given birth to a child only a few days before; the server declared that he had been given permission by the woman's physician to make service. A woman of eighty, deaf and partially blind, was subpoenaed. In one instance the parents of adopted children were threatened that unless they cooperated their children would be taken from them.

George A. Brautigam

Once subpoenaed, witnesses were "tried" and found guilty by the press before they ever reached the grand-jury room. Frequently Fred Jones, Brautigam's chief investigator, invited TV camera men to "shoot" witnesses waiting in the anteroom, at the same time turning "dossiers" on them over to newsmen. Samuel Hirsch's appearance in the courthouse was turned into a journalistic circus. He was called, excused, and then recalled in an atmosphere of fanfare. While he was waiting to be recalled, newspapers headlining lurid charges about him were distributed in the courthouse. Members of the grand jury were seen reading the newspapers during a recess only an hour before Hirsch appeared before them. One of the appellant's briefs charges that Brautigam insisted on being present during the deliberations and final vote on many of the cases. Florida law specifically provides that "no person shall be present while the grand jurors are deliberating or voting."

Once while Brautigam was waiting to argue before County Judge Holt that a group of witnesses should be cited for contempt, the witness read in the *Daily News* that they had already been cited. Pressed for an explanation, Brautigam said: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers." But the *Daily News* story turned out to be excellent prophecy. On another occasion the same newspaper had two witnesses convicted five days before they were tried!

The Courts

ON September 22, 1954, Judge Holt signed orders requiring seventeen witnesses to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt as the result of their refusal to answer questions before the grand jury. "Show cause" orders of this kind are not unusual; normally they are issued in response to a petition by the state attorney upon vote of the grand jury. But in this instance none of the witnesses had as yet appeared before the grand jury; they were not subpoenaed to testify, as a matter of fact, until September 23, twenty-four hours after the show-cause orders against them were issued. Thus the orders signed by Judge Holt recited facts which had not yet taken place. Moreover, mimeographed opinions, identical in text, stating Judge Holt's reasons for convicting the seventeen witnesses were filed in advance of the hearings on the contempt citations.

Judge Holt and Brautigam gave varying explanations of the incredible affair, so reminiscent of the *lettres de cachet* of the French Revolution. The Judge blamed the whole thing on a "clerical error." But Brautigam, according to the Miami *Herald*, explained the matter to the Florida Supreme Court somewhat differently. The *Herald* said:

> The state attorney [Brautigam] conceded Judge Holt had signed the show-cause order in advance. . . . He said this was done as a convenience to the state attorney and the order was to be served only if [the witness] did not answer ques-

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tions for the grand jury. . . . Justice Elwyn Thomas commented that Judge Holt apparently had delegated his authority to issue court orders to Brautigam, and Justice E. Harris Drew said it appeared Judge Holt had acted judicially before the matter was before him. Retired Justice Rivers Buford, sitting for an absent justice, said, "As far as I'm concerned it's out the window."

When the Reverend Joseph Barth, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, filed an affidavit asking Judge Holt to disqualify himself from hearing the cases because of his handling of the "show-cause" orders, the Judge promptly ordered them to show cause why they should not be held in contempt. The affair was finally settled without Mr. Barth or his secretary having to pay a fine or go to jail.

The show-cause incident is the most dramatic but by no means the only example of irregularity in the judicial handling of the contempt cases. A note of persecution is perceptible throughout. Normally, for instance, bail applications in Florida are summary proceedings; in these cases, however, most of the witnesses indicted suffered substantial periods of incarceration before they were ultimately released. Mike Shantzek spent more than five weeks in jail; Charles Smolikoff a month. In most cases the bail was raised from an initial $2,500 to $5,000.

Judge Holt, presiding at the contempt trials, affirmed Brautigam's thesis that the witnesses were not entitled to plead the Fifth Amendment because they were being questioned concerning matters antedating the statute of limitations. His opinion ignored the applicable decisions of the United States Supreme Court; indeed, he insisted that it was the "American way" that "each case must be decided on its own basis." Yet he inadvertently destroyed the basis of his own argument by admitting from the bench that the witnesses had substantial reason to fear self-incrimination if they answered questions. "I don't care what the [Florida] Supreme Court does," he declared in the hearing of defense counsel, "these people will be indicted for criminal communism."

The Judge twisted the screws on the witnesses at every opportunity. Smolikoff, for instance, was given his one-year sentence for contempt by Judge Holt on July 6. On July 17 the Florida Supreme Court ordered Smolikoff released from custody under a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Holt reheard the matter two days later, reaffirming his previous denial of bail despite the higher court's ruling. The Judge stated that Smolikoff would have to go to the state Supreme Court to get bail. The court followed a similar procedure in every case. Each witness was forced to apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, involving extra expenses and fees, and was compelled to remain in the county jail pending its issuance. The ultimate unanimous determination by the Florida high court that the thirty-one appellants should never have been convicted in the first place merely serves to emphasize the harsh prejudgment involved in the denial of bail.

Although there are nine circuit judges, Judge Holt, as presiding judge, reserved all the contempt cases for his own consideration. At his insistence cases were held up while he spent a vacation in Spain and were presented to him upon his return. During the trials he attacked the defendants from the bench, permitted proceedings in his chambers to be televised, and found nothing improper in accepting a "patriotism" award for his handling of the cases even while some were yet to be tried and others were on appeal. Nor did he consider the fact that appeals were pending in one group of cases a reason for staying punishment in the others.

Three years ago Miami passed an ordinance requiring registration of all Communists or "followers of the party line" who remained in the city for more than forty hours. The ordinance also required that meetings of Communists be licensed and that all Communist literature be published in a daily newspaper before it could appear under its own imprimatur. This extreme ordinance was enjoined by Judge Holt himself as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, when the latest witch hunt started, the Judge dissolved his own earlier injunction.

The disbarment of the Miami attorney for pleading the privilege against self-incrimination—probably the first case of its kind in the country—is another example of Dade County justice. Circuit Court Judge Vincent C. Giblin both instigated the complaint and presided at the trial. Yet this was not the only surprising feature of the case. Before he attained his present judicial eminence Judge Giblin was a lawyer for notorious gamblers, including Al Capone, and on one occasion was himself convicted of contempt, invoked the Fifth Amendment in his own defense, and was given a ninety-day sentence. But this did not stop him from saying, in his oral decision disbarring the Miami attorney:

> I concede the witness's right, as it is the right of any witness, to refuse to testify under oath in response to a question when his answer may tend to incriminate him. He has that constitutional right, but he does not have the constitutional right to practice law, and the American legal profession demands and should demand that no lawyer invoke the Fifth Amendment in refusing to discuss frankly and openly his activities, so that we judges and lawyers of the profession may determine whether he is or is not loyal to the Constitution of the United States.

His subsequent written opinion turned out, in large measure, to be a paean of hate against "intellectuals" who, according to Judge Giblin,

> . . . give the greatest aid and comfort to the enemy. These pigmies on stilts who parade as giants are sometimes found in our institutions of higher learning; and waving their master's degrees they pose as the defenders of personal liberties and the promoters of international good-will. But they only think they think.

Runyon hailed the disbarment as setting the stage for a local purge of the legal profession. Brautigam liked the decision so much that he wrote a laudatory foreword to it, reprinted the whole in pamphlet form, and sent out hundreds of copies—this in a case in which Brautigam was himself the prosecutor and in which the appeal had not been exhausted.

Some sections of the press and public did not permit the decision to go unchallenged, and the Judge struck back sharply. As a trustee of the University of Miami he denounced faculty critics as "snakes tempting students with Marxian apples." He charged that the editorial staff of the Miami *Herald* was infiltrated with Reds. And with the appeal still pending, he has been energetically defending his action in speeches before patriotic groups.

Not the least important cog in the Miami machine is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Brautigam has no investigative staff other than Fred Jones, yet

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subpoenas were served upon persons who were strangers in Miami and who, when questioned, found that information had been gathered about their activities and associations in their home states in the distant past. The relationship between the F. B. I., the grand jury, the press, and Brautigam remains unknown except to those directly involved. All the evidence indicates that it was close. Otherwise, how could it happen, for instance, that two witnesses in a recent New York perjury trial were newly recruited informers who had been turned over to the F. B. I. by Brautigam's office?

The Formula at Work

BY NOW it must be clear that a well-organized junta in Miami is cultivating the myth of subversive witchcraft practiced by large numbers of doom-bearing Reds. To the junta's operations the *Daily News* contributes the very considerable power of its headlines, capable of destroying the witches economically; the State Attorney and Judge Holt contribute the power to jail those who will not confess; and the F. B. I. contributes its witches' dossiers. Each partner has much to gain. The F. B. I. recruits reformed witches ready to identify their unregenerate sisters; the county officials can count on sensational press notices to further their political advancement; the *Daily News* is paid in headlines, circulation, and the opportunity to play Warwick to Brautigam. Already the State Attorney has been named Dade County Democrat of the Year. The runner-up? Dan Mahoney, publisher of the *Daily News*.

The Miami formula is basically a local product. A host of citizens' organizations have sprung up in support of Brautigam's objectives. The most recent is the Subversive Activities Commission, dedicated to forcing legal action against those exposed as Reds, to pressing for anti-subversive legislation, and to collecting information on subversive activities. The commission's directorate interlocks in many places with that of the Constitutional Club, a group with similar objectives organized by Charles Allen Gould, a close associate of Brautigam. Offshoots of the Constitution Club are the Breakfast Club and the Freedom Club.

The Velde committee was a transitory phenomenon in Miami, and not all of its activities were helpful to the local crusaders. The fact is that Chairman Velde, not normally addicted to moderate views on the problem of subversion, admitted after his hearings here that "the situation is not as bad in Florida as in other parts of the country." Despite several visits to this city the committee has yet to recommend a single prosecution for perjury. All this has irked the local crusaders: Runyon condemned the committee's performance as inept and noted that few of sixty "friendly" witnesses which Brautigam has at his disposal cooperated with Velde.

The engineers of the Miami formula have the support of a vociferous minority in this febrile tourist city, where the gangster, the crackpot, and fanatics of all sorts flourish amid the amused tolerance of the vacation-minded. Where but here could racketeers make a good thing out of a fraudulent appeal for funds to finance a probe into juvenile subversion? Yet despite the fear it has spread over this city's relatively small permanent community, it would be wrong to think that the Miami formula has not met with resistance, some of it heroic. Judges, newspaper columnists, clergymen, and other community leaders have spoken out. One of the most significant signs of the strength of the resistance is the recent election to the state legislature of John B. Orr, a forthright and courageous liberal lawyer who won in the face of skilled exploitation of the Red issue by his opposition.

There have been reports that a Senate judiciary subcommittee of the new Congress may launch an investigation of the denials of civil rights which have occurred in the course of probes into alleged subversion. The dangerous character of the Miami formula should give it a high priority in such a probe. Already it is having an effect beyond the border of Dade County. The state administration, thoroughly aware of the political benefits to be derived from a Red hunt, has entered its own St. George in the anti-subversion lists—the twenty-nine-year-old Ellis Rubin, who has complained that Brautigam has done no more than rework Crouch's territory. And Brautigam's chain letters, boasting of his successes in Miami, may yet find echoes in other communities.

So far as Miami is concerned, a responsible investigative committee could well begin its work by finding the answers to the following questions: (1) Who instigated the current Miami witch hunt? (2) Is there any relationship between the witch hunt and the growth in Florida of the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which has as its chief slogans "Free America from the Jews" and "Defend the White Race"? (3) Is there any relationship between the drive to nullify the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the witch hunt which intensified shortly after that decision? What is the relationship between the witch hunt and the newly formed Miami anti-desegregation groups? (4) Are Florida grand juries being manipulated by reactionary forces in the community for the purpose of attacking important federally protected rights of expression and association? Why were witnesses before the grand jury questioned so intensively about their activities in such organizations as the A. V. C., the F. D. R. Club, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the N. A. A. C. P.? (5) Who financed Crouch's trip from Hawaii to Miami to testify in the disbarment case, in which he never took the stand? Who paid for the printing and circulation by Brautigam of Judge Giblin's opinion in this case? Have private funds been used to subsidize the evident invasion of the constitutional rights of Miami citizens by the state attorney's office?

In the meantime the Miami Chamber of Commerce ought to concern itself with the possibility that with all its sunshine Miami's repressive climate may ultimately repel freedom-loving vacationers.

Courtesy Des Moines Register

"They called you an intellectual, Pa."

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SLUMP IN TEXTILES

An Industry Goes "Soft" . . . *by Bernard Nossiter*

TEXTILE manufacturers are wearing happier faces these days as the industry's third post-war slump seems to have run its course. But the gloom of the textile workers is still as thick as a New England woolen blanket.

The latest recession in textiles began in the second quarter of 1953 and apparently hit bottom in the winter. In six months output tumbled 22 per cent. Since December, 1953, the production curve has been upward, enough so for J. Spencer Love, Burlington Mills' board chairman to say that the industry has turned the corner.

Severe ups and downs are an old story in textiles. One observer attributes them to the industry's complex structure. A yard of piece goods passes through many separate business hands before it reaches the customer as clothing in a retail store. At each stage entrepreneurs make judgments about prospective demand that speed up or slow down orders. These judgments tend to reinforce one another, deepening the downswings and heightening the upturns.

The Federal Reserve Board's monthly textile-production index measures the latest slump. From 111 in June, 1953 (1947-49 equals 100), output fell to 87 in December and rose again to 93 last June. The recession was unevenly distributed through the industry. Woolens and worsteds were the hardest hit, with production falling 42 per cent from the second quarter of 1953 through the first quarter of 1954. Rayon and acetate broad-woven goods slumped 23 per cent in the same period; cotton goods only 5 per cent. These figures reflect a persistent post-war trend.

While many hard and capital-goods industries have increased profits despite reduced sales, no tax relief has helped the net in textiles. Profits plummeted from $93,000,000 in the first quarter of 1953 to $32,000,000 in the first quarter of 1954. And even the first figure was well below the $202,000,000 racked up in the quarter before the 1951 slump.

Mill workers have had to bear the brunt of these slumps. Since in textiles

John F. Awtrey

wages are nearly half the value added by manufacturing, labor is the first to be hit by a tightened market. In June, 1954, employment was 300,000 below the average monthly level of 1,280,000 in 1948. More than 130,000 workers were made jobless by this latest decline, and the Textile Workers Union (C. I. O.) figures that a third of those working last winter were on part time. The recent revival has not taken a comparable number off relief rolls, although work weeks have been lengthening. Even if the recovery is sustained, thousands who lost their jobs will find mill gates are permanently closed to them. Since the end of World War II the union believes that 150,000 jobs have been wiped out by liquidation of plants. Technological changes are also shrinking the long-term employment market.

The best crystal-gazers in the textile industry are afraid the trend is irreversible. They point to the steady post-war decline in the percentage of total consumer spending that goes for clothing. In 1946 consumers spent 10.4 cents of every dollar for apparel; in 1953 they spent 7.3 cents. Solomon Barkin, T. W. U.'s research director, thinks the decline is a deep-seated social phenomenon. The move to the suburbs, television, drive-ins—all add up to casual clothes and fewer clothes. Moreover, such textile users as the makers of shower curtains and garment bags have largely shifted to plastics. Woolens, with their high labor content, are also losing out to low-labor-content goods like rayon. There is doubt that the search for new markets will counteract these trends.

The mergers that for three decades have been transforming textiles from a decentralized to a more tightly knit structure have contributed to the decline in jobs, and mergers have been stimulated by the recent recession. The T. W. U. estimates that 150 plants employing 50,000 hands were bought up by competitors between July, 1953, and September, 1954. Marginal companies become easy prey for the solidly established. Also big firms concentrating on one branch like to take in smaller firms to diversify their output and thus lessen cyclical swings. Some firms look for companies whose stock is selling well under asset value, buy them at bargain-basement prices, and sell off the assets. The T. W. U. calculates that over 550 plants were closed between the end of the war and the end of 1954.

BUT the worst specter that haunts the textile workers is the industry's growing concentration in the South. Except for woolens and worsteds, most textile fibers are spun and most cloth is woven below the Mason-Dixon Line. Last March T. W. U. researchers reported that Southern wages for broad-woven cotton, silk, and rayon were 11 per cent under Northern rates. Moreover, unorganized Southern plants can skimp on holidays, increase work loads, and browbeat their hands in a wide variety of other ways. The South generally offers cheaper power, closer access to raw materials, and a wide assortment of tax inducements.

BERNARD NOSSITER is a New York newspaperman.

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Today more than three of every five workers in the industry are working in Southern plants. Of course, the word "Southern" here applies only to location. The T. W. U. says that two-thirds of these plants are controlled by Northern capital. More than half the Southern workers are employed by only thirty-eight companies. The North is not expected to be frozen out completely, but the over-all decline in demand will undoubtedly shrink output faster in the North than in the South.

The growing preponderance of the South offers an ominous prospect to the unions. The T. W. U. claims less than one worker in six in the South as against more than one in two outside it. Whereas from the end of 1952 to June of 1954 employment in the industry dropped a little more than 11 per cent, the union's 400,000 members dwindled to 325,000—a loss of nearly one in five. To be sure, some of this loss can be attributed to a secession movement. Former T. W. U. official George Baldanzi bolted to the United Textile Workers (A. F. of L.) after the 1952 convention and took some units with him. According to the T. W. U., however, many of the bolters returned; the United Textile Workers admits to a membership of "less than" 100,000 and paid the Federation per capita tax on only 57,000 in 1953.

If textile wages, now a marginal $1.36 an hour, are ever going to climb within talking distance of other industries, the Southern plants must be organized. The T. W. U. knows this and spends nearly three dollars of every four that come in on organizing. But the plants, backed by the police power, have waged an unremitting and highly successful war against unions. A Senate labor subcommittee which investigated the situation reported in 1952 (Senators Taft and Nixon excepting) that employers use all or some of the following devices to prevent organization of their workers: "surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda . . . ; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for anti-union activity; labor espionage; discharges of union sympathizers; violence and gunplay; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the N. L. R. B. and the courts." If these methods fail, said the committee, the employer will stall the election, then the certification, and finally the negotiation of a contract. "Few organizing campaigns survive this type of onslaught," it concluded.

Southern plants are equally adept at breaking established unions, the committee further observed. They begin by disrupting grievance procedures, urging revocation of check-offs, denying union agents access to the plant, and firing union leaders. At contract negotiation time the company makes impossible demands and forces a strike. It then gets an injunction to protect scabs, has strikers jailed for contempt, starts a back-to-work movement, provokes violence, evicts workers from their homes, brings in the National Guard, and blocks credit to strikers. The committee summed up: "The strike collapses under this conjunction of economic, physical, and social pressures; returning employees are refused employment; blacklists block employment in other mills. If the strike cannot be broken, the plant can be closed and machinery transferred to another mill or sold."

THE T. W. U. believes it is "the No. 1 victim of the Taft-Hartley Act." William Pollock, the union's executive vice-president, told a House Labor Committee in March, 1953, that "new organization, under Taft-Hartley, has been brought to a dead halt." He said those who claim the act isn't so bad because unions are still operating are thinking about widely organized industries; the law keeps the unorganized unorganized. Mr. Pollock showed the Congressmen that in the five and a half years before Taft-Hartley the union won 58 per cent of the 260 Southern elections in which it engaged, bringing in nearly 68,000 members; in the five and a half years after Taft-Hartley the union was ready to participate in only 150 Southern elections, of which it won 37 per cent, bringing in not quite 15,000 workers.

However, Mr. Pollock's figures reveal that the trouble goes deeper than the law. The union brought in nearly 55,000 of the 68,000 pre-Taft-Hartley members in the four war years and won from 67 to 74 per cent of the elections in those years. In the years after Taft-Hartley the victory rate has been as high as 48 per cent, which is as high as in the post-war, pre-Taft-Hartley days. This shows two things: that organizing flourishes during war when stoppages cannot be permitted, and that even without Taft-Hartley it is a losing battle in the South.

The recession in the industry and its shift to the South have forced the T. W. U. to some harsh expedients. It took a 6½ per cent wage cut in New England cotton-rayon plants in mid-1952, and this has not been restored. Woolen and worsted wages were cut 9½ cents an hour last summer. Increases of work loads have been accepted, although the union insists only when no great burden falls on the workers.

In desperation the T. W. U. has turned to the government to bail out the industry and help in its organization. President Emil Rieve recently proposed that the government should buy textiles for distribution abroad, buy clothing for "needy Americans," set up textile stockpiles for the armed services, supplement unemployment benefits for distressed area workers who have used up state payments, sponsor a research program to find new markets and study consumer trends. Earlier the union had sought more tariff protection. To weaken the South's bait, the union has repeatedly asked the government to raise all minimum wages and rates in its textile contracts. It has also asked the government to place its cloth-buying orders in distressed areas.

In the way of organizing aid, the

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union wants Congress to dispel the notion that unions are "somehow subversive." It seeks many changes in Taft-Hartley: among them, speedier Labor Board decisions; stiffer penalties for employers' unfair practices; actual good faith in bargaining and no stalling on the part of employers; closing the loophole that lets a Chamber of Commerce employ union-smashing tricks forbidden to employers; limiting state-court and state-legislature control over labor-management relations; permitting federal courts to compel arbitration in contracts calling for it; and outlawing the coercive company propaganda that the "free-speech" provision permits.

Textile's problems confound the union. Hence the turn to government to avert disaster. Some critics doubt that the government will act. If, as many believe, migrating plants are not a big problem, then a program to curb them will not alter the picture. And if the union can only penetrate the South successfully in war time, tinkering with Taft-Hartley will not provide the solution. Perhaps government aid can lessen the severity of textile ups and downs. But the problem of decent wages and working conditions appears to be squarely in the laps of the Southern mill hands themselves.

WARNINGS FROM BONN

Revolt Against Rearmament . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

CHRISTMAS tidings from across the Rhine to the people of the German Federated Republic told of the birth, not of a Prince of Peace, but of the monster of German rearmament. Yet on the eve of Twelfthnight, Chancellor Adenauer seemed quite happy as he received congratulations on his seventy-ninth birthday.

"The old man of the Rhine," however, like Churchill, is rapidly becoming a burden even to members of his own party. His victorious electoral sweep of February 6, 1953, has receded into the remote past. His Christian Democrats have shown losses of up to 50 per cent in all local elections since—in Catholic Rhineland-Westphalia last spring, in agrarian Schleswig-Holstein last summer, in Hesse and Bavaria in November, and in Berlin in December. The Social Democrats have an absolute majority in West Berlin; an anti-Adenauer government is in power in Hesse; a Socialist has become Premier of Bavaria for the first time in thirty years, with the Catholic reactionaries relegated to the opposition. These developments have cost Adenauer his two-thirds' majority in the Bonn upper house—a serious loss which will make itself felt in the votes on the constitutional changes required by the Paris treaties.

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

On December 15 and 16, several days before the French National Assembly produced its narrow, confused, and lamentable majority for them, the Paris treaties had their first reading and debate in the Bonn Parliament. It was not a pleasant experience for Dr. Adenauer. For two days the West Germans watched the spectacle of the Socialist opposition pushing the Chancellor into ever tighter corners. The immediate cause of his plight was the Saar clause of the Paris treaties. There is no majority in the Bundestag for sacrificing the Saar: even members of Adenauer's own party oppose it. Moreover, the Socialists were able to prove—over the Chancellor's denials—that he had yielded on October 22 to an ultimatum of the French government on the Saar. Mendès-France and Adenauer now interpret the Saar clause each to suit his own purposes. Bonn says that the Paris treaties grant the German population of the Saar the right to determine its future status by a plebiscite, to be held after peace is concluded. The Paris interpretation is that the treaties separate the Saar from Germany for all time. Adenauer has appealed to Washington for support. All that Dulles has achieved so far is the meeting of the two Premiers in Baden Baden last week. It remains to be seen whether the German industrialists will consider the economic concessions in North Africa offered by Mendès-France adequate compensation for the loss of the Saar coal and steel plants. It is likely that these gentlemen will take, as is their custom, what is offered to them without renouncing the hope of getting more.

But the Saar is, after all, a comparatively minor matter compared with German rearmament. Indeed, what is really at stake is the preservation of the Western alliance. The feeling of the German opposition was well expressed in an editorial in the conservative *Deutsche Blätter* of January 1, 1955:

> The dominant question is whether West German participation in the Atlantic alliance will make the reunification of Germany easier or harder, whether it alone will make German unity possible or will surely prevent unity. Another question is whether the military security of West Germany would be enhanced or diminished by the Paris treaties. A deputy belonging to a party in the government coalition, former General von Manteuffel, has made some well-justified demands in this respect which have not yet been met. Shall we be defended at our frontiers or shall we be overrun? After all, we want to survive a future invasion, as General von Manteuffel put it in Parliament.

The great worry of the Germans is that any agreement or coexistence between East and West will be at the expense of German unity. This is behind the fear and distrust with which Adenauer and his supporters are regarded. Also condemned are those deputies who are really opposed to the Chancellor's policy but do not have the courage to rebel openly, placing the personal, religious, and class benefits which they reap from the regime above their per-

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sonal integrity and the interests of the people. "After us the deluge" exemplifies their attitude. Banner headlines which proclaim "High Gold and Currency Reserves of the Federal Bank," "Wild Boom on West German Stock Exchanges," "Eleven Billion Marks of Foreign Currency, an Increase of Three Billion in 1954" (4.20 marks make $1), tend to overcome scruples. Under their spell some Germans welcome the new planes, the shells for the atomic artillery overlooking the Rhine. Russian warnings and counter-proposals are rejected out of hand. Just as the Montenegrins used to boast that they and the Russians were together a people of 150,000,000, so the Bonn cynics talk of "us and our Western allies who are invincible." They ignore the facts pointed out by the Paris *Monde* on January 4, 1955:

> The worst thing about this folly is that it is unnecessary, for nobody on either side of the Atlantic seriously believes that the twelve German divisions are a strategic necessity. The NATO decision to reply to an attack by atomic reprisals, taken a few days before the ratification debate, has ironically underlined its anachronistic and useless character. . . . The letter of the Paris treaties is ratified; their spirit has been killed. And the way in which their ratification was achieved indicates that their text will never be reanimated. A terrible crisis of confidence thus arises within the Western bloc. The sacrifice of the French deputies on December 30, 1954, has formally saved the alliance, but Anglo-American pressure, which has literally transformed the Paris treaties into a *Diktat,* has inflicted irreparable damage.

German newspaper readers are spared no Hollywood divorce, no Paris cellar murder, but they were told nothing about this judgment of one of the most important Paris newspapers. And now the question arises: Is the feeling in West Germany any better? Do the German people feel any different toward London and Washington than the French do?

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* which is in favor of the Paris treaties, published on January 5 an editorial that has received wide attention. It was in reply to the contention of Walter Lippmann and the London *Times* that coexistence between East and West should be established even if German unity must be sacrificed. The Frankfurt newspaper, which takes a position generally not unlike that of the New York *Times,* commented:

> The West is showing very plainly that it is more interested in the military strength of the German Federated Republic than in German unity. The time is not favorable, it finds, for this foremost aim of the German people. And so the alliance between West Germany and the United States will soon be put to the test. Its proponents have always assured us that once the alliance is concluded, the West will be so strong that the prospects will be better for successful negotiations with the Russians on German unity. . . . The politicians who so decisively intervened in favor of the American alliance have awakened hopes among our people and especially among the oppressed of the Russian zone. . . . The coming generation will judge their statesmanship not by how completely they have achieved Germany's integration with the West but by how successfully they have brought freedom to the people east of the Elbe and Werra.

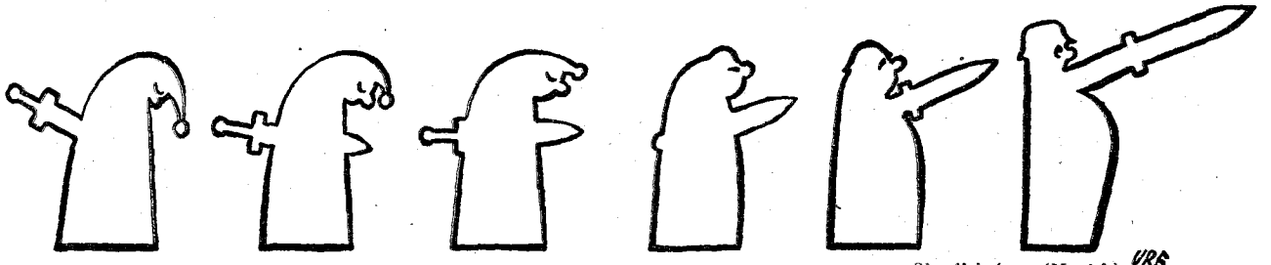
The immense majority of the German people feel much more strongly on this question. This is especially true of German youth, who are unalterably opposed to the remilitarization of Germany, partly as a matter of principle and partly because of the foreign and domestic policies that it will automatically entail. When Herr Blank, representative of the Chancellor and of the Pentagon, made a speaking tour to explain the Paris treaties last fall, the young men of Cologne and Dortmund, of Hesse and Bavaria came to his meetings in thousands and shouted him down. He dared not appear without a strong police guard. In Augsburg he was taken from the meeting with blood streaming from his head. Neither Herr Blank nor any German newspaper has described these young demonstrators—workers, students, and civil-service employees—as "Communists."

THE Protestant church has joined the Social Democratic Party and the unions in their fight against the Paris treaties and remilitarization and for the reunification of Germany by an East-West agreement. Before the debate of December 15 seventy-five Protestant church leaders and theologians sent a letter to the deputies asking them to oppose German rearmament in obedience to "their Christian conscience." Among the signers were Professor Gollwitzer of Bonn University, a noted theologian and a personal friend of President Heuss; Professor Neisel, leader of the Reformed church; Professor Vogel of Berlin; and Dr. Niemöller, head of the church in Hesse. Protestant pastors are organizing a movement among young men to refuse military service.

Though London and Washington insist on West German remilitarization and are determined to force it upon the country with the aid of Adenauer, the will for unity of the German people is not weakened. It is, indeed, strengthened by the danger of a civil war between an armed West Germany and an armed East Germany. Bishop Dibelius, head of the German Protestant church, said in his New Year's Message:

> It is pitiful to fall for a cheap propaganda which always proclaims one's own policy to be a policy of peace even if it is only a mask for rearmament, and for a foreign policy which is actually warmongering though it may go hand in hand with a genuine wish for peace.

All these voices, added to the prospect of a West German army which may one day be forced by the people's will to join with Russia for the sake of the reunification of Germany, represent so many warnings from Germany. Together they spell "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" for the State Department and the whole Western world.



Simplizissimus (Munich) VRS

The Evolution of the Stab in the Back

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BOOKS

The New Conservatism

A PROGRAM FOR CONSERVATIVES. By Russell Kirk. Henry Regnery Company. $4.

ROAD TO THE RIGHT. The Tradition and Hope of American Conservatism. By Gordon Harrison. William Morrow and Company. $4.50.

By H. H. Wilson

RUSSELL KIRK, author of "The Conservative Mind" (1953), is one of the more important contributors to the effort to restate policy and program for American political conservatism. He has recently been joined by Gordon Harrison, editorial writer for the Detroit *News* and author of "Cross-Channel Attack"; "Road to the Right" is both an appraisal of the conservative role in American history and a call for business to assume political responsibilities.

Mr. Kirk has not sustained the quality of his earlier work. The value of his new book is vitiated by his detestation of modern society, especially its cities and industrialization, and his acceptance of the nostalgic myth of rural virtue. He is properly contemptuous of the caricatures he presents as "the liberal"—"the typical liberal or radical . . . is smugness incarnate"; "the intellectual"—"sick from his smugness and conceit"; and "the professor"—"when a man is both a professor and an intellectual he is loathsome." Conceding that conservatism is never dogmatic, Mr. Kirk, a self-styled "true-blue conservative" and, therefore, "a highly reasonable person," has partially succeeded in overcoming this restraint. Thus he concludes that "private enterprise is the only really practicable system, in the modern world, for satisfying our economic wants"; "the best men in our political life usually have desired to be esteemed as conservatives"; "power no longer really is joined to wealth, or to numbers, or even to strength"; "money, and most respectable media of communication, still are on the side of the liberals and radicals"; and "the dispute over loyalty has resulted in very little actual injustice or repression in America, as yet."

Readers are likely, in the judgment of this reviewer, to find Harrison's the more useful analysis. Writing with humor, pungency, and shrewdness he devotes twelve chapters to a review of conservatism from Federalism to Eisenhower and two chapters to consideration of a viable policy for the future. With Kirk he believes there is a popular demand for conservative leadership, but he traces it to the fact that "for the bulk of the people the government is the one instrument that can be deliberately and rationally manipulated to save men from various iron laws of economics." He does not waste energy regretting the fact of big government, for he understands that "its basic dimensions are tailored to its task" and that government has become the "last refuge of individualism." He warns that "a government trying only to avoid interference with existing institutions in fact yields its own will to other compulsions within the society." Though the history he outlines is not conducive to undue enthusiasm for conservative capabilities, Harrison is convinced that the existence of a conservative party will strengthen democracy by providing "a principled conflict . . . between parties that agree on ends [and] disagree on means." Recognizing that we have always had at least a limited

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Hotel Room

Irresolute, I sit down on the bed.
The springs protesting in an alien key
Remind me of the other men before me
Who sank upon the bed to ruminate
And rearrange their yielding images
Within the new dimensions of their transience.
How many men, I wonder, stood up and stared
Through the dusty window, memorizing bricks,
And turned and left, and then returned, each time
Reshaping the room to comfortable fit,
And with their going, leaving behind no mark
Of their identity? How many others
Will stretch to haunted sleep, unaware, unaware?

The room darkens, but I do not move. Outside,
A huge electric sign winks symbol: On . . .
Then off . . . Then on . . . and instantly the room
Flashes in response and echoes symbol,
A rented mirror of its occupants,
Reflecting love and pain but glazing blind
With every exit. What's left of any man
Who ever sleeps here warm with certainty?

The room no longer mine, I trace a line
Across the ceiling and lose it in the wall.
Intent on leaving some private sign of my
Identity, somewhere high above the reach
Of Time, to certify that I was here,
I lived here once, I must not be erased,
I sit here all alone but brother-linked
To every man who leans against a tree
And scrupulously carves his minute mark
Into the blurring bark of history.

MILTON KAPLAN

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class politics, he rejects the thesis that the existence of a specifically conservative party opposed to a predominantly liberal party would aggravate social tension.

Those who accept the notion of business trusteeship and the assumption by corporations of social and political responsibilities will be responsive to Mr. Harrison's conclusion. Observing the Eisenhower Administration, its undermining of regulatory commissions and bungling of Taft-Hartley revision, Harrison is aware of "the difficulty of socializing the business point of view and bringing it up to date." Nevertheless, he is convinced that the conservative party must build on a business base and "develop the business philosophy so as to make it relevant and attractive to all groups disposed to put their primary trust in tradition and slow evolution."

British Medieval Painting

PAINTING IN BRITAIN: THE MIDDLE AGES. By Margaret Rickert. The Pelican History of Art. Penguin Books. $8.50.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THIS is the fifth volume of the Pelican History of Art, published under the expert editorship of Nicolaus Pevsner. It is similar to the others* in format and in size, with some 250 pages of text, nearly 200 halftone illustrations, a generous bibliography, and an index. In addition, there are three historical maps, an elaborate chronological chart to indicate connections between English centers and European sources, and a very useful glossary illustrated with line cuts.

The study of medieval painting in Britain is still in an archaeological stage. Any summary, therefore, must concern itself primarily with establishing facts. Furthermore, medieval anonymity veils all but a few individual artists like Matthew Paris, and of these we know little more than their names and a few works. As a result, this book is pretty much what it has to be—a careful factual statement of what happened in Britain in the field of manuscript illumination, wall painting, stained glass, panel painting, and that elaborate embroidery which became known over Europe as *opus anglicanum*. Miss Rickert's scholarship is painstaking and authoritative; in addition she has managed to keep in mind the general reader, to whom British medieval painting is all but unknown.

To such a reader her book will come as a revelation. Based on Irish and complex European and East Mediterranean sources, painting in Britain gradually developed its own special flavor. Above all it was linear, in many cases exclusively so, or touched with the merest suggestions of color. It differs strikingly from the heavily plastic nature of Italian and French medieval art and from those aspects of Carolingian, Ottonian, and later medieval art in Germany which allude to Roman imperial origins. Line in British medieval painting is close to the more expressionist phases of German drawing before, during, and after the time of Albrecht Dürer; yet it avoids German violence and neuroticism. It is mellowed by a gentle restraint and not infrequently by humor. Making due allowance for the passage of time, one may sense in these modest but brilliantly competent works some prophecy of William Blake on the one hand and of Rowlandson on the other.

The earliest work discussed is the "Book of Durrow," now at Dublin, illuminated apparently in Northumbria in the latter half of the seventh century. Ostensibly as Irish as the "Book of Kells" itself, it also betrays Anglo-Saxon characteristics suggestive of the metalwork and jewelry of those warlike peoples. The latest works run to about 1500, when Italian Renaissance forms began to invade the Gothic vocabulary. Thus we are led through the Middle Ages to the point where a previously published volume, E. K. Waterhouse's "Painting in Britain, 1530-1790," begins. Among the most interesting pages are those devoted to the famous Bayeux "tapestry"—which is really an embroidery—for the English origin of which Miss Rickert argues most convincingly; and to the Wilton Diptych (National Gallery, London), perhaps the most exquisite of all extant works of late fourteenth-century Gothic painting, for which an English origin is also claimed despite its very close connections with the style prevalent in French aristocratic circles.

*Reviewed in *The Nation* for November 14, 1953, and April 24, 1954.

Recent Poetry

SONGS FOR EVE. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. $3. The sudden return of MacLeish's lyric voice as evidenced by the new poems in his recent Collected Poems, and as carried on in the present lyrics is one of the true wonders. At sixty MacLeish has found singing resources as rich as those that first made clear his talent, but now enriched and deepened by time. One of the books that must not be missed.

EZRA POUND AND T. S. ELIOT. By Richard Aldington. The Peacock Press, England. No price given. A lecture handsomely published. Aldington, always a suave critic, enters smiling and proceeds to such literary assassination as even the eighteenth-century masters of the art of undercutting would have envied.

SELECTED POEMS. By Mark Van Doren. Holt. $5. Van Doren can observe his rustic subjects with a true poet's eye and can sometimes phrase the observation brilliantly, but his rhythms seem faithfully schooled rather than imaginative: one tends to come to the end of each rhythmic measure having already anticipated how the sound will turn. The result is partly admiration, but also partly the boredom that arises from monotony.

POEMS OF FIVE DECADES. By Max Eastman. Harper. $3.75. Starting with no talent whatever, Max Eastman collects fifty years of diminishing returns into some sort of micromental monument. A collector's item.

POEMS. By Rolfe Humphries. Scribner's. $4.50. Humphries can turn a graceful rhythm with something like a jewel carver's talent for the tiny, but when he makes the mistake of trying satire or "serious" subjects, the result is too thin for wit or too academic for feeling.

A SORT OF ECSTASY. By A. J. M. Smith. Michigan State. $2.50. Smith has grace and charm, but his serious poems sound too much like the fashionable thing to do—or fashionable fifteen years ago—and his lighter ones flake off trying to satirize the obvious.

JOHN CIARDI

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Partisan of the Arts

SELECTED ESSAYS OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Random House. $4.50.

By John R. Willingham

IN FORTY-TWO representative essays ranging in time from 1920 to 1954 Dr. Williams proves anew that a poet-critic at his best can be a valuable partisan for the arts. Most of these essays appeared originally in little magazines, literary quarterlies, or as parts of Williams's earlier books. Though he warns the reader that the opinions in some of the earlier essays are perhaps tentative, to be modified and clarified as his own aesthetic emerged out of flux, it seems to me that the ideas exhibit a remarkable coherence.

The major concerns of the essays are the nature of poetry in general and the development of a specifically American tradition. Dr. Williams asserts the essential contemporaneity of all great poetry. The major poets of the past provide for the poet of today an achievement not for imitation but for attempted outstripping. Since it is in the structure of the art form that modernity or lack of modernity is manifest, the art of the past offers a proving-ground: "As writers we shall find in writing our most telling answers, and as writers it is we who should uncover them. That is our business. If, as writers, we are stuck somewhere, along with others, we must go back to the place, if we can, where a blockage may have occurred."

On the subject of American art and poetry Williams offers some sound advice for the reinterpretation of American literature and reveals not a little about his own poetic aims. Whitman, he says, freed American verse from an obsolete, restrictive, and hence meaningless poetic; as a pointer, "a key man to whom I keep returning," Whitman brought the glow of health and vitality to American poetry. When, in reckless enthusiasm for the iconoclasm he had begotten, he allowed his own poetry to degenerate into meaningless catalogues and structural confusion, he failed; when the later *vers librists* built upon the failures of Whitman, they emphasized and extended the failure.

But in Williams's view Eliot and his followers were guilty of a worse crime: in their horror at the softness and looseness of free verse they set out to assassinate the achievement of Walt Whitman. They fomented a poetry for the "instructed few"; "and instructed poetry is all secondary in the exact sense that Dante's 'Commedia' is secondary where it is archaic and fettered against a broad application of the great traditon." It is to be expected that Williams, if he had to take sides somewhere in this basic conflict, should always line up with Whitman in spite of his failures.

Grenades are tossed, with considerable premeditation, right and left. But it is clear, I think, that as both artist and critic Williams is carrying on an attack against an intrenched, baneful, derivative art—an attack first formulated clearly in 1916 and 1917 by the men associated on the *Seven Arts* magazine. Significantly, Waldo Frank in both "Salvos" (1924) and "The Rediscovery of America" (1929) recognized a close connection between Williams's inclinations and the aim of the *Seven Arts* group; the writings of Williams, Frank said, partake of a promising "apocalyptic method," whose practitioners "must literally make the plastic form of their vision from the plasmic substance of their experience—without obedience to conceptual heritage or aesthetic tradition." As Williams pointed out in his "Autobiography" (1951), he has found meaning as both individual and poet in "the fates of ideas living against the grain in a nondescript world"; he has never been quite comfortable in an alliance with any school or party line. Like Whitman he has preferred to follow his own bent with "creeds and schools in abeyance." Though he admires and has profited by some aspects of the Imagists, of the work of Eliot, Pound, Stevens, Marianne Moore, and others, Williams has never found it necessary to be an expatriate or to ransack the literature of the past for images and forms. Emerson's demand for a writer to saturate himself with reality is probably met more nearly by Williams than by any other living American poet. If "Paterson," "In the American Grain," and the collected poems have not made clear the basis for his constant approach to the universal through the local, these essays will certainly show that Williams, the artist and the thinker, is American in the best sense—a sense shared by Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman, Alfred Stieglitz, Randolph Bourne, and Hart Crane.

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Discoverer of Streptomycin

MY LIFE WITH THE MICROBES. By Selman A. Waksman. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By A. E. Mirsky

PROFESSOR WAKSMAN has a wonderful story to tell. It is the story of a poor boy from a remote village in the Ukraine who leaves his family and comes to this country. After some years he discovers streptomycin, one of the "miracle drugs," and wins fame and wealth.

Waksman's description of Jewish life in a Ukrainian village is fresh and absorbing. Traditional Judaism and the awakening of nineteenth-century Russia made for an idealism and spiritual yearning that induced young Waksman and his friends to seek educational opportunities. By heroic perseverance Waksman managed to obtain an irregular secondary education, but higher education was beyond his reach in the Russia of 1910 and so at the age of twenty-two he came to America.

He stayed with relatives in Metuchen, only a few miles from New Brunswick, New Jersey. Soon he visited Dr. Jacob Lipman, also an immigrant from Russia and at that time professor of bacteriology at Rutgers University. Lipman was interested in the microorganisms of the soil, and as a result of the association Waksman was to spend the rest of his life at Rutgers working on microorganisms of the soil. Within ten months of landing in the United States, Waksman

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was enrolled as a freshman at Rutgers and with the aid of a scholarship working his way through college. In his fourth year he was already doing research under Lipman's direction. It was then that he made the acquaintance of the actinomycetes, a group of microorganisms related to the bacteria and fungi. These organisms provided him with the great opportunity of his life, for he discovered in one of them the antibiotic he named streptomycin.

Waksman's scientific activities did not by themselves lead him to the discovery of streptomycin. It happened this way: One of Waksman's students, René Dubos, went to work at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. He brought with him a knowledge of soil microbiology, which at that time differed in a number of ways from medical microbiology. Dubos perceived that with the resources of soil microbiology it would be possible to discover microorganisms in the soil capable of making substances that could be used against disease-producing bacteria. A number of such substances prepared by Dubos proved to be of only limited practical value in the treatment of disease. On Waksman, however, the impact of this work was decisive. He stopped what he was doing and devoted himself to the search for soil microorganisms capable of making antibiotics. His old favorites, the actinomycetes, proved to be most useful. Within a few years he had discovered streptomycin. (It should be said in passing that penicillin, an even more useful antibiotic and one already known, had come into medicine in an entirely different way.)

With the discovery of streptomycin Waksman became a famous man. The many honors and awards he received are fully described in this book. It is a pity that more is not said about the scientific aspects of streptomycin and other antibiotics, for this would have been of great interest to the general reader, as well as to the chemist, biologist, and physician.

The general tone of Waksman's book is one of pride in past achievement and of confidence in the future. Apart from some atomic physicists and some biologists interested in the population problem, most American men of science would, I believe, agree wtih Waksman in having a confident attitude towards the progress of man.

United Nations Publications

Obtainable from the Columbia University Press

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN OPERATION. UNESCO. $.75. The fourth in a series on "Tensions and Technology," this report summarizes the discussions of a conference of experts. Members of technical-assistance missions meet endless problems having little to do with their primary goals—conflicting world views, suspicious officials, vested interests, and a stubborn peasantry. The conference report suggests how to face such unavoidable aspects of the job. It also considers the problem of evaluating the results of technical-assistance programs.

THE RACE QUESTION IN MODERN SCIENCE. A UNESCO Series. $.25 each. A new title, "Race Mixture," by Harry L. Shapiro, has been added to this excellent international series of nine booklets edited by Dr. Alfred Metraux. Other contributors are Michel Leiris, Juan Comas, Otto Kleinberg, and Kenneth Little. Each volume includes bibliography. The series concludes with "The Race Concept," summarizing evidence presented by 69 scholars from 23 countries.

THE RACE QUESTION AND MODERN THOUGHT. A UNESCO Series. $.40 each. Three titles have recently appeared in this series: "The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem" by W. A. Visser 't Hooft, "Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization" by Leon Roth, and "The Catholic Church and the Race Question" by Yves M-J. Congar, O. P.

THE AFRICAN MIND IN HEALTH AND DISEASE: A STUDY IN ETHNO-PSYCHIATRY. By J. C. Carothers. World Health Organization. $3. A strange publication to be issued under the W. H. O. imprint. A racist tract in which stale references to the African's alleged childishness are buttressed with alleged analogies between him and lobotomized Europeans.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EXCHANGE ECONOMY IN TROPICAL AFRICA. U. N. $.40. A useful compilation of the most recent data on the spread of the market economy. Particularly interesting when dealing with sectors of the African economy managed by Africans—cocoa in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, coffee in Tanganyika, cotton in Uganda.

SUMMARY OF RECENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA, 1952-53. U. N. $.80. The latest issue of an annual supplement to the "World Economic Report." Primarily statistical. Interesting when discussing the effect of the post-Korean slump in commodity stockpiling on African economic life.

JOHN V. MURRA

Religion and Psychology

MORALS AND MEDICINE. By Joseph Fletcher. Princeton. $4.50. Unlike their Protestant brethren, the Catholic priesthood has always revealed eloquent concern with problems of conduct and ethics as they affected the intimate lives of men and women. This book helps to make things even. The author, who teaches at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, discusses such topics as contraception or euthanasia with candor, brilliance, and an erudition which his hearty style makes delightful. His exposure of contradictions in some Catholic attitudes should have reverberations in Rome.

THE DEVIL. By Giovanni Papini. Dutton. $3.75. Satan, always an attractive character, fares well in the hands of this dynamic old Italian. By clever exegesis of Patristic texts, the author even comforts the friendly reader with the hope that some day Lucifer will be forgiven and that hell—since it had a beginning—must have an end.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY. By C. G. Jung. Pantheon. $3.75. This latest volume in the Collected Works consists of short essays, most of them previously published, on education, child development, the growth of the personality, and so on. It represents Jung in his least abstruse and most accessible mood.

THE SACRED FOREST. By Pierre-Dominique Gaisseau. Translated from the French by Stephen Becker. Knopf. $4. The adventures of four young Frenchmen amid the magic and secret rites of a tribe in French Guinea. The experiences are authentic, but the author manipulates them for picturesqueness rather than for fresh anthropological light.

APPROACHES TO GOD. By Jacques Maritain. (Vol. I of "World Perspectives," Edited by Ruth Nanda Anshen.) Translated from the French by Peter O'Reilly. Harper. $2.50. This is a steep but open threshold to the vast, complex work of our leading Catholic thinker. It might be called a "bait," although an honest one, for the sensitive reader will almost certainly be drawn by it to explore the author's universe more deeply.

WALDO FRANK

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Jews and Revolution

SCAPEGOAT OF REVOLUTION. By Judd L. Teller. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50.

By Marie Syrkin

"SCAPEGOAT OF REVOLUTION" propounds the thesis that Jews suffer rather than benefit from radical and revolutionary movements. Contrary to the common belief that virulent anti-Semitism is characteristic of reactionary periods, Mr. Teller makes social revolution the villain of the piece. He also refutes the charge that Jews have a weakness for radical ideas. The great majority, he says, cleave to the doctrines of "liberal-bourgeois laissez faire."

Mr. Teller supports both contentions with a variety of data. Even the much-heralded French Revolution brought no automatic liberation to oppressed minorities, particularly Jews. Mr. Teller quotes Marx and Bakunin to demonstrate that Socialist ideology was anti-Semitic at the core, and he adds, "Almost all major prophets of socialism were more fervently dedicated to their hates than to the brotherhood of man." The record of Soviet Russia and its satellites completes the indictment.

Much of the arraignment is correct. Marx's anti-Semitic gibes are familiar and constitute a classic instance of Jewish self-hatred. It is a matter of fact that during the 1881 pogroms which swept Russia revolutionary leaders issued proclamations calling on the peasants to kill "landlords, Jews, and Czarist officials." Soviet Russia's record, from its persecutions of Zionists to such anti-Semitic flare-ups as the Prague trials and the Moscow doctors' plot, is admittedly unsavory. Nevertheless, the individual items adduced do not prove the author's dispiriting thesis that anti-Semitism is of the essence of socialism.

No Socialist or, for that matter, Communist movement has made anti-Semitism a tenet of its creed, whereas ideological anti-Semitism is characteristic of reaction. It is not just coincidence that the periods of Jewish martyrdom fell under a Torquemada, the czars, or a Hitler. And it is not sheer accident that the impact of the French Revolution threw down the ghetto walls in Europe just as the Russian Revolution, whatever its subsequent corruption, emancipated Russian Jewry. Despite the admitted failures of professed champions of freedom and equality, the road that leads to the gas chamber and the pyre comes from another direction.

One is forced to conclude that the author's demonstration is motivated by the present political climate in the United States. Mr. Teller is nobly protecting the Jews from the imputation that they too profited from the political upheavals of the past five hundred years. As a corollary he whitewashes them of the accusation of radicalism. Most Jews are undoubtedly safely conservative, but must the people of the prophets apologize abjectly for those among them, however misguided, who ventured to dream of a new earth, if not a new heaven? Must Jews really blush uneasily for a Rosa Luxemburg, a Trotsky, or—dare one write it—a Karl Marx? True, these "renegades" abjured traditional Judaism, but when Edmund Wilson suggests that "Marx is of the tradition of the Old Testament" he is pointing to the ancient roots of social vision. As to the errant young people of the thirties whose mistaken zeal for human welfare Mr. Teller kindly explains, perhaps it is time they and their apologists stopped crying, *"Peccavi."*

MARIE SYRKIN, author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance," has spent some time in Israel.

Health Quacks and Faddists

PRISONER IN PARADISE. By Garet Rogers. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

FROM the days of frontier camp-meetings to the plush salvation of Billy Graham and Father Divine, religious revivalists and their seemingly endless appeal to millions in many parts of the country have been the wonder of reasoning men and have provided fascinating material for novelists and poets as well as social scientists.

There is, however, another area of mass hypnosis—a secular revivalism—which has been largely neglected in American literature but which Garet Rogers now examines in "Prisoner in Paradise." This is the area of pseudo-medicine and health faddism. The leaders of these movements are far from the genial quacks of folk myth. They are business men who use the methods of the revivalists—the rhetoric, denunciations, threats, prophecies of doom, and appeals to remote "authorities."

But whereas the religious revivalists deal in matters of faith and emotion and frequently enrich or comfort the lives of their devotees, the medical quack operates in a field where there is far less margin for error. The purveyor of pseudo-medicine, no matter what his motives, deals with human life itself.

The success of the quacks would be easier to understand if their victims were financially unable to obtain legitimate medical care or could be dismissed as ignorant simpletons. Health quackery is no cut-rate proposition. Fees are high, and most of the clients come from the middle- and upper-income groups. It is also a fact that creative and highly intelligent persons swallow the sales talk of pseudo-medicine, risking their health if not their lives in the process.

The motivation of the health quacks and, to a lesser extent, of their victims, is the central theme of Garet Rogers's first novel, "Prisoner in Paradise." Miss Rogers, a young attorney familiar with the ways of medicine and pseudo medicine, introduces several species of the "practitioners" who use human bodies as the raw material for their own fortunes. Taking her hero, a young man with the improbable name of Spartan McClintock, from the beginning of his career to his leadership of "healthopathy," she dissects the psychological and social pressures of, successively, a small Southern town, a medical school, a prison clinic, and the overstimulated neuroticism of Hollywood. She also indicates that the medical profession is not altogether free of responsibility for health faddism. Members of the profession too often seem to regard themselves

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as an exclusive club, complete with a set of social codes and prejudices. As a result many young men of genuine ability are forced to take the path of least resistance.

Miss Rogers often affects a dryness of manner which seems rather labored, but she handles dialogue exceptionally well and provides generous helpings of melodrama. Her picture of the vast field of medical quackery holds one's interest to the end.

Books in Brief

Brown Shirts Versus Striped Trousers

THE WILHELMSTRASSE. A Study of German Diplomats Under the Nazi Regime. By Paul Seabury. University of California. $3.

In democracies and dictatorships alike, political leaders who make ultimate decisions in foreign policy are certain to miscalculate if they ignore the counsel of competent professional diplomats, if they convert diplomats into "yes men," or if they penalize diplomats for wrong judgments or—incredibly à la Dulles—for right judgments. Such miscalculations proved catastrophic in the Nazi Reich. Until now, however, we have had no systematic account of what happened to the German Foreign Office and Foreign Service as a crucial factor in the débâcle.

Mr. Seabury offers us a lucid and incisive analysis, fully documented from voluminous archives and memoirs, excitingly readable, and as current in its implications as tomorrow's headlines. This is at once a study of politics and foreign policy and a diagnosis of how "persistent denunciation, public defamation, character assassination, private terror may have a profound effect upon the morale of a bureaucratic establishment and demolish its institutional effectiveness." After reviewing the unreconstructed Foreign Office of the Weimar Republic, this admirable study traces in detail the clash of "Brownshirts and Striped Trousers," the replacement of Neurath by Ribbentrop in 1938, the antics of Alfred Rosenberg, and the final "Liquidation of Diplomacy" as a source of national disaster.

The demagogues who ruled the Reich spurned the guidance of the diplomats. The latter were not even informed, at the time, of the most crucial resolves of the policy-makers. The Wilhelmstrasse championed a German-Soviet entente as essential to German security. The Nazi élite sought the annihilation of Russia and thus brought the Reich to ruin. The diplomats, meanwhile, survived through "impotence and compliance" and found no way to restrain, or even influence, the psychopaths whom the German people adored as leaders. Before we condemn them for cowardice, Seabury concludes, it would be well to recognize that "the problem of moral choice under political duress is one which comes to many men —including contemporary Americans— but is avoided by most."

An Unsolved Problem

AMERICAN SECURITY AND FREEDOM. By Maurice J. Goldbloom. Beacon Press. $1.50.

This report to the American Jewish Committee is a sober analysis of the problems confronted by a democratic society which seeks to combine essential security measures with the preservation of intellectual and political freedom. Mr. Goldbloom accepts the thesis that Communists formed a network of favoritism and espionage in government during the 1930's and '40's; that all Communist parties "consistently serve" the U. S. S. R.; and that the Communist Party is both a political party and "a conspiracy to commit illegal acts in the interest of" the U. S. S. R. Though he does not believe that every Communist will commit criminal acts, "we must certainly accept the fact that he has yielded up his political judgment and will follow the party line on all questions." Despite this premise, Mr. Goldbloom believes that any attack on the legal rights of any person "weaken the security of these rights for everyone." The loyalty and security measures of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations are reviewed, with the conclusion that neither "has solved the problem of protecting the interests of the United States with a maximum of effectiveness and of fairness to individuals."

Literature Under T. R.

THE STRENUOUS AGE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Grant C. Knight. North Carolina. $4.50.

In his earlier book, "The Critical Age in American Literature," Professor Knight considered the period from 1890 to 1900. In the present volume he is concerned with a less well-known and less admired literary decade—that between 1900 and 1910. He confesses that he is dealing with a period generally untroubled by artistic greatness, but to his way of thinking, "books, like persons, need not be great in order to be loved." The present book, therefore, is little more than a fondly retrospective treatment of the literature of the first decade of our century.

Much of it consists of dull catalogues of deservedly forgotten books and authors. When Mr. Knight squares his shoulders for an extended discussion of a major writer like Henry James, he becomes uncomfortable. He berates James for not selling his "major phase" to the average reader more successfully, though he reminds himself that people today find "The Wings of the Dove," "The Ambassadors," and "The Golden Bowl" congenial works. Theodore Roosevelt is the symbolic figure of the age; his "strenuous life" motivated much of the fiction. Of poetry, drama, and criticism, Mr. Knight has little to say. The social history is too condensed to be of much value, and the literary history is too superficial to provide insight into the aesthetic achievements of the "strenuous age."

Gall and Caviar

THE SPOOR OF SPOOKS. By Berger Evans. Knopf. $4.50.

Several years ago Berger Evans wrote his "Natural History of Nonsense" as a "sort of handbook in the gay cause of common sense." His continued delving into old wives' tales has soured the professor's disposition—and he knows it. In the foreword to the present book he warns us that a bitter taste of gall may be detected as well as a taste of caviar—to the general, presumably, adding a pinch of snobbishness to the mixture.

His angriest attack is directed against what he considers the absurdities of the extra-sensory-perception tests at Duke

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University. He deals more mildly with numerous homelier misbeliefs, such as that cedar chests protect against moths or that mice like cheese. Some of the chapters explode such common assumptions as that crime doesn't pay and that legal phraseology is confusing rather than clarifying. One chapter, somewhat irrelevant to the theme of the book, deals with the psychological causes of automobile accidents.

The book ends with a serio-comic call to arms to the intellectual élite, who have "stood too long in sneers amid the alien scorn," to wage war against the masses of ignorant boobs. But in Mr. Evans's war the issues are confused from the start, for all the sneering and the scorning seems to have come from his side.

In the Land of Genghis Khan

THE FIVE SEASONS. By Karl Eska. Translated by Robert Kee. Viking. $3.95.

This novel of peasant life and death in the Turkmen provinces of the Soviet Union is a perceptive and moving work. Karl Eska is a sensitive artist responding deeply to the desires and conflicts of a people. Turkmen peasants are an ancient group whose folk memories go back beyond Genghis Khan, to the time of the great caravan cities of central Russia. For centuries these people were involved only in the struggle against desert and sun; the ruling governments were acknowledged, but life was measured by the yield of the earth. The Sovietization of this culture inevitably took on an indigenous cast. Moscow's "plans" had to be fulfilled, but the peasants continued to obey the basic rule—survival. Death or imprisonment was the price of failure to fill quotas, but it could be done through manipulation and bribery. Thus corruption among peasants and officials alike became almost universal. While "The Five Seasons" may be considered an indictment, it indicts only bureaucracies which reduce individual men, women, and children to the status of means to an end.

Eska's narrative is consistently effective, with a somber lyricism of mood and image. It drives down to the core of a situation without flourish; at several points the author presents an entire social conflict in two or three paragraphs. Eska may be anti-Soviet, but "The Five Seasons" is a work of literature which transcends the limitations of ideological skirmishing.

Australian Cattle Country

VISION SPLENDID. By Tom Ronan. Macmillan. $3.75.

A colorful and evocative excursion into the Australian backlands by a craftsman who writes directly from his experience. Although the way of life Ronan recreates is not altogether strange, he filters the familiar elements of Western fiction through the distinctive patterns of his own culture. The result is spiced with newness; even the vocabulary has the charm of novelty, with "swags," "waddy," "coolamons," "billy cans," "dilly bags," and so on.

The narrative is anchored to the familiar device of the green young man who comes to a new land to make his fortune and is ultimately captivated by it, but the material is not romanticized. The free life of the Australian cattle country is there, but so are the savagery and cruelty of that life. Ronan paints a vivid picture of the old drovers who commit suicide when they can no longer work the trails, of the muted but ever-present racial tension, and of the hypnosis of continued isolation. If his people are seldom more than part of the scenery, the scenery is fascinating, and the book will provide a rich new experience for readers who are unfamiliar with Australia.

Dehydrated Realism

THE VIEW FROM POMPEY'S HEAD. By Hamilton Basso. Doubleday. $3.95.

"The View from Pompey's Head" has been billed as a "major American novel by Hamilton Basso." It may be Mr. Basso's major novel, but it is certainly not America's, for the book is an overlong pastiche of New York financial and publishing circles and small-town social life, glued together with melodrama.

The novel pivots on a mystery: did the honorable editor cheat the famous author, or did the author's beautiful but evil wife simply act true to form and cause trouble? The wife, as one of the characters points out, is not a woman "but evil in its most absolute form"—a prototype of all those well-bred *femmes*

Books on India and Pakistan

THE BRITISH IN ASIA. By Guy Wint. Institute of Pacific Relations. $3.75. A perceptive and very readable description of the British Empire in South Asia and of the great change that led to its abandonment. It was because realistic British statesmen "saw that Oriental nationalism had become one of the elemental forces of the time, and was likely to increase in strength rather than diminish" that they acquiesced in the "loss." The author in due course relates his theme to the factor of Russia in Asia and then penetrates suggestively into the hazes of the continent's future.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA. By E. W. R. Lumby. Praeger. $4.50. This meticulous record of the snarled three-sided negotiations and events that led finally to the transformation of "British India" into India and Pakistan follows the course of official acts. Consequently popular currents and the chaotic communal clashes attending partition come to view only occasionally and, as it were, casually. Intrinsic value and reader interest are thus both circumscribed. The substance of the book is nevertheless highly useful in providing background for analysis of India-Pakistan relations and forewarning of more trouble in South Asia.

AROUND INDIA. By John Seymour. John Day. $4.95. The warp and woof of good stuff are here, for the author went to see for himself and presents his descriptions with facility. But John Seymour seemingly lacked real purpose in his drifting around India. "Politics is not my cup of tea," he said, and went where whim or accident might send him. A veneer of thin philosophizing does not disguise the circumstance that this insouciant chronicle lacks an adequate pattern.

DANGER IN KASHMIR. By Joseph Korbel. Princeton. $5. A revealing account of the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and of the grave danger that threatens the subcontinent by reason of the failure to achieve a settlement—a failure for which the author blames India more than Pakistan. Communism diligently exploits the fruitful opportunities offered by existing conditions, and the existing breach widens. Korbel sums up: ". . . the Kashmir problem has played havoc with the crucial relations between India and Pakistan and it has been irretrievably thrust onto the scene of world politics. . . . Kashmir has become a veritable powder keg for the whole of Asia."

O. EDMUND CLUBB

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fatales who crop up in the movies, where they are played by Gene Tierney. The mystery, however, is not the core of Mr. Basso's novel, since he does make an unmistakable—if cautious—gesture of analyzing life in a Southern city.

Mr. Basso's realism is dehydrated; his people—inevitably good-looking or clever—retain an appearance of life, but in situations where no rough edges remain. Like others who attempt to achieve accuracy without antagonizing, his accuracy itself becomes little more than gloss. His hero, for example, is no bigot, but he is not objectionable about not being one; and this sort of discreet and watered-down attitude filters through the entire novel.

"The View from Pompey's Head" is a readable job—"it moves"—but with no more impact, challenge, or need for concentration than the stories appearing in the "better magazines." It contains interesting remarks on the intellectual and social stasis of Southern life, but one may doubt whether this modicum of interest warrants 409 pages of fiction.

"Exquisite" but Enervating

THE TORTOISE AND THE HARE. By Elizabeth Jenkins. Coward-McCann. $3.50.

Elizabeth Jenkins has been aptly called an "exquisite" writer. In this story of a disrupted marriage and a weak-willed woman Miss Jenkins relies on neatness of prose, making small but razor-sharp incisions beneath the surface of her people. The exquisiteness of "The Tortoise and the Hare," however, is not balanced by substance. Its heroine, for example, begins by appearing sensitive and poetic, only to become mousy and pathetic; her enervating timidity finally becomes unbearable, and no amount of psychological nuance can rescue the novel.

The plot climaxes are oddly unclimactic, perhaps because they are altogether too well-bred. Whatever interest the book promises is drowned in a welter of small detail which fails to give importance to the things that happen, or do not happen, to the characters. Granting the tonal accuracy of the author's images and her flashes of quiet (very quiet!) wit, there remains a seepage of pale gentility whose effect on many readers will be soporific.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ACCORDING to those who feel they have described something when they have found a name for it, Gian-Carlo Menotti's "The Saint of Bleecker Street" (Broadway Theater) appertains to the *verismo,* or naturalistic, school of opera, à la Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana." The justification for this is that the Menotti piece deals with the Italian American section of New York City, and that subway stations and restaurants with juke boxes provide some of the scenes of action. In my view "The Saint of Bleecker Street" is nonsense as naturalism. If I am to regard it at all sympathetically, I must consider chiefly its symbolic undertones.

The plot may be interpreted as follows: The immigrant Italian, in his isolation from the main stream of the American big city, is torn between an old and moribund religiosity and a loud-mouthed secularism which makes him feel closer to the native community. But even when yielding to the latter he is insecure, because he still feels himself a stranger, without roots either in the Italian culture he has abandoned or in America, where his kinship with the customs and beliefs of the Old World prevents him from feeling wholly American. The result of this tension is a neurosis which leads him to a feverish irregularity of behavior and to violence.

Menotti is himself an American of Italian birth who wants to compose successful entertainment for the popular theater of our country, though he probably feels most at home in the operatic form, which thus far has a comparatively limited audience. This subjective relationship between the author and his material seems to me to give "The Saint of Bleecker Street" a certain emotional authenticity and warmth.

On a literal level the piece strikes me

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as bogus. I am not impressed with the heroine's hysterical religion—it is presented as a premise but not justified or made moving except as a disease; her brother's equally hysterical objection to her religious bent has little sound basis, since he believes in nothing whatever. The accusation that he is in love with his sister—an accusation which drives him to crime—is entirely accurate but is significant only in the symbolical sense I have indicated. If we are to accept the bare facts of the play's story we have to conclude that the religious folk in the play are dreadful people—they beat up the heretic—and the boy in opposition a fool. The only nice person in the play, apart from the subsidiary priest, is the scarlet woman—very attractively impersonated and sung by Gloria Lane.

The rest is effect. Menotti stages his operas very well and manages melodramatic conventions with a deft hand, always seeking for a new turn or twist to engage the attention. But there is little substance in his new work. The score contains two good arias. The music generally is easy to listen to: it is (much) lesser Puccini with a sprinkling of other pleasant tidbits in a facile Italianate vein. The voices are admirable and the production is superior.

I WOULD hate to spoil anyone's fun by finding fault with "Anastasia" (Lyceum Theater). This play, written by a French lady, Marcelle Maurette, and adapted by Guy Bolton—never, I am informed, produced in Paris—is a sort of throwback to the commercial drama of 1913 on a subject which might have had a certain topicality in 1928. It resembles the novels still available in Continental railroad stations which have no literary quality but sell by the hundreds of thousands. It is a royal romance.

Anna is a Berlin derelict whom a gang of White Russian swindlers hope to pass off as Anastasia, Czar Nicholas II's daughter, presumed to have escaped the Bolshevik firing squad. The swindlers' efforts to cash in on their hoax is balked because Anna really is Anastasia, and she prefers to renounce her estate—the Romanovs, she realizes, are through—and marry an honest fellow-refugee who loves her for herself.

Very little of this is dull on the stage; if you like the diversion of chambermaid literature you may take it as an adjunct to gipsy music and dancing in one of our ubiquitous Russian Inns. Many people nowadays do, for we are returning in the theater to the escapism in which things are taken seriously provided they are not at all serious.

Such plays as "Anastasia" used to be the occasion of splendid bravura acting with a zest and massive colorfulness all their own. I remember having seen many years ago a play called "The Yellow Ticket"—laid in darkest Russia—with Florence Reed and John Barrymore. What a feast of grease paint and personality! And speaking of Barrymore, what Romanov was ever more regal than Ethel?

American society today does not produce actors for such plays. It is to the credit of Alan Schneider, the director, that he appreciated the acting style required for "Anastasia" and chose a cast that could approximate it. Most of the actors are too young in every respect for the roles they are playing, and it is to their credit that they hold the audience as well as they do when they perform in a manner so foreign to our ordinary realism. Viveca Lindfors is lovely but not yet sufficiently free of the director's care. Eugénie Leontovich seemed to me too deliberate for the most part, except toward the end of the confrontation scene (Anastasia's grandmother recognizes her), where both actresses achieved a touching climax.

"THE TROUBLEMAKERS" (President Theater), an American play by George Bellak, was written several years ago and first produced—and favorably received—in London and then in Tel-Aviv. It belongs to the drama of social indignation. It tells the story of a college boy who is killed by his classmates during a drunken spree in which their hostilities are vented on the boy, whom they dislike as a suspected "radical" and generally as a spoil-sport.

The first act is horrifyingly convincing, and the last scene, in which the boys attempt to get even with the victim's conscience-stricken roommate because he has forced their own confession, is pointed and stirring. Several of the intervening scenes are overwritten, preachy, and routine. Still, the play has a thematic vitality due to its relevance to our present state of mind, and I must approve of it as a welcome dissonance in our theater's insipid harmony, even though I deplore its artistic rawness. The cast and the production, undertaken with limited means, are excellent.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE men of the Booth family—Junius Brutus, John Wilkes, and Edwin—were admittedly purple fellows even for a theatrical dynasty, but they could not possibly have been such unfaltering bombastics as they are made to appear in "Prince of Players." This is unabashed romance; the fact that it is unabashed making it attractive entertainment.

Even so, without Richard Burton in the central role of Edwin Booth the picture would probably collapse of silliness. Raymond Massey as Junius Brutus, the original Booth and the genius with a "taint," and John Derek as the man who shot Lincoln play with a contagious skepticism. But Burton is a hard man to doubt. He punches through his part like a heavyweight working out in a gym, and the flashier it gets, the stronger his resolve to be believed. The impersonation is a little belligerent, but it can't be scoffed away.

And Burton does something else that is very difficult. It is notorious that a novelist who makes his hero a famous writer finds that it is extremely hard to convey the substance of his creation's talent. When an actor must play a famous actor practicing his great talent, the job is even more taxing. The audience instinctively digs in its heels and defies persuasion. Massey, in the present case, does not succeed at all in reviving the magic of the legendary Junius Brutus—he seems to be only Massey hamming more than usual. But Burton commands respect for Edwin's artistry in scenes from "Richard III" and "Hamlet." I don't say that they are really first-class readings—they are too self-admiring—or that they are even stage readings at

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all, for they depend heavily on close-ups and emotion whispered into a microphone. But they are individual and powerful; you can believe that the audience watching them would have been impressed.

ALTHOUGH set in Paris and presumably observing French legal procedure, "The Green Scarf" is peopled by English actors and is built on an old and successful English police-movie formula: a seemingly hopeless case; an unappreciated but brilliant defense attorney who must overcome the suspicions of his client as well as the superior forces of his opponent; a long court scene in which the prosecution is almost unchallenged until the final moment when the great surprise is sprung.

In this case the surprise is not so shattering as it might be, but the circumstances of "The Green Scarf" are sufficiently novel and the level of performance is sufficiently high to make it a satisfactory time-waster. The novelty lies in the fact that the defendant is a blind deaf-mute with evident paranoid tendencies. The performance level is set by Kieron Moore as this unhappy man, Michael Redgrave as his lawyer, and Leo Genn as his old teacher. Redgrave is the focus of the picture. His acting always seems to me a virtuoso construction—a demonstration of the craft rather than an impersonation—but his ingenuity and his astute, often witty observations are a joy to watch when the subject matter is unimportant. When he undertakes greater roles the exposed machinery can be irritating.

In "The Green Scarf" his old bearded attorney, engaged in a first major defense after a lifetime of police-court triviality, is a marvel of detailed embroidery, though the countless "revealing" touches of voice, movement, gesture, and mannerism do not add up to anything very individual. It is a little like Jannings, but without the self-pity; a little like Laughton, but without the charlatan's bounce. Moore makes his concocted part believable enough to enlist your support, and Genn's saintly teacher is as smooth as silk.

GEORGE ORWELL had a poor opinion of revolutions, at least of the great revolution that occurred in his lifetime. When you eliminate a tyrant, he observed, you create a vacancy, and like as not a new tyrant will step nimbly into it, leaving you no better off—and very possibly much worse off—than before. On this generalization he constructed "Animal Farm," an allegory which stirred up a good deal of discussion in the war years. The arguments were not only between the pro-Russians and the anti-Russians but also between those who differed on whether or not Orwell was preaching the essential futility of any revolt against oppression. As a simplified but not inaccurate fable of what happened in Russia the book is no longer controversial, but it is still not clear what Orwell thought a people should do about oppression. I think he loved and pitied suffering humanity but had little hope for its future: people were sheep, geese, donkeys, oxen, and plodding dray-horses, at the mercy of the scheming pigs.

"Animal Farm" has now come to the screen as an animated cartoon. It lends itself easily to this treatment, but its animators, John Halas and Joy Batchelor, have taken no more than adequate advantage of the opportunity. Their style is Disney-literal, with none of the satire or brilliant economies of the U. P. A. productions. The tone is cute, pathetic, or little-boy greedy, and the characterizations are superficial clichés of animal qualities. It is probably true, as advertised, that this is the first full-length cartoon on a serious theme; it is too bad that its British producers have executed it in a pedestrian style that cannot hold up for the required hour and a half.

WHEN a flight of jets is coming home to its carrier, the ship sends up a helicopter which hovers just outside the approach path, ready to dart off instantly to the rescue of any pilot who may have to ditch his plane in the surrounding waters. The details of this and similar technical maneuvers of carrier warfare provide the interesting passages in "The Bridges of Toko-Ri." The human relationships in Paramount's adaptation of James Michener's novel are the tough-tender ones we know from years and years of combat spectacles; the acting by William Holden, Fredric March, and Mickey Rooney is precisely what those studio-polished stars always accomplish—a dead-level of competence as correct-to-life as a Norman Rockwell painting. But the picture was made with the cooperation of the United States navy and is therefore full of the gadgetry and the superhuman agility of modern warfare.

The picture also appears to have a propaganda mission, which is to awaken the home front to the bitterness of the "small" war in Korea. From time to time, therefore, one or another of the performers is asked to say a few words on the purpose of the war, the nature of the enemy, the apparent callousness of the folks back home, and the bitterness of death in a world preoccupied with peace. And in a brutal concluding scene Holden and Rooney are trapped in an irrigation ditch and cut down by Chinese tommy-gunners. These somber moments are out of key with the blithe magazine-fiction tone of the picture as a whole. And the points they make are now a little pointless, unless Paramount is getting us in trim for a new Korea.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PROBLEM

by George W. Elderkin
Professor Emeritus, Princeton University

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Records

B. H. Haggin

THE gabble on record envelopes—whether by the record collectors turned critics or by the professionals—is with rare exceptions most profitable when left unread; but I glanced at the material on Urania 7139 looking for bits of hard fact it might include about Prokofiev's unfamiliar Symphony No. 4, which Sebastian performs with the Colonne Orchestra on one side, offering a suite from the ballet "The Prodigal Son" on the other; and I read that the symphony was composed immediately after "The Prodigal Son" "in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of . . . the Boston Symphony, and first performed by that orchestra under Koussevitzky—a long-time associate of Prokofiev—in November of 1930." And having begun in this way I continued to read with increasing fascination Edward Tatnall Canby's long and detailed analysis of the structure of the work, and the part played in each movement by a basic tritone harmonic relation and three-note motive like the *Muss es sein?* of Beethoven's last quartet: the way the allegro portion of the first movement began with an "agitated faster *Muss es sein?*"; the way the *Muss es sein?* appeared in the bass in the second movement; the way the third movement began in B major and ended in F, a tritone away; the way the final movement was "a remarkably subtle drawing-together of all the previously generated forces," with an "ultimate loud statement of *Muss es sein?* in the last few triumphant notes." And when Mr. Canby turned to the suite from "The Prodigal Son" I read with continuing fascination that "as compared to the symphony . . . virtually every listener will hear at once the utterly different character of the musical structure in these five movements"; that the suite "'reeks of ballet,' in the free play of ideas, the quick changes of tempo, the danceable rhythms . . ."; that the two pieces exhibit similarities of harmony and orchestration, and as they "become better known an even closer thematic relationship will become apparent, though there are few spots where the actual ballet music was more than suggested in the succeeding symphony, composed so soon thereafter."

What made all this so fascinating was that I was listening to the symphony and hearing the ballet music from "The Prodigal Son" of which it largely consists: the "agitated faster *Muss es sein?*" of the allegro portion of the first movement is from the dance of the prodigal's two servants (the rest of the material of this movement is newly composed); the second movement is mostly the final scene of the prodigal's return to his father's arms; the third movement is the siren's first dance; the final movement is a piecing together of material from the opening scene, the first encounter with the drinking companions, the orgy, and the celebration by the siren and the companions after the despoiling (with again some newly composed material). Having used this much of the ballet score in the symphony, Prokofiev scrambled the rest into the suite. To my ears these two potpourris are much less effective than the original progression in the ballet score; and it is this original progression that Sebastian should have performed. Some of his tempos are different from those I am accustomed to; but the performances are good.

AS Webster Aitken began the opening movement of Schubert's Sonata Op. 53, at the first of his three Schubert recitals, there was the agreeable surprise of hearing it played with continuity, instead of with the discontinuities produced by the stop-and-go of the recorded performance issued by EMS last summer. And in the scherzo too there was a more animated and relaxed flow, instead of the over-deliberate pace and rhythmic distortions of the recorded performance. But the mannered style of that performance twisted the shapes of the second movement, the trio of the scherzo movement, and the G major episode of the finale again this time. In the Sonata Op. 78 too there was more continuity in the exposition of the first movement, in the scherzo, and in the finale; but still some of the discontinuous stop-and-go in the development of the first movement and in the second movement.

There was, then, a great deal in the performances that one can understand Harold C. Schonberg disapproving of in the *Times*. But it is regrettable that they should have been reported on by someone with no ear for the mastery that was so striking in the operation—mastery in the treatment of the piano; mastery even in making of the music something one couldn't accept; and the mastery that produced something as wonderful as the statement of the opening section of the first movement of Op. 78, as enchanting as the playing of the trio of the scherzo movement, as remarkable as the coherent shaping of the finale.

By now it is clear that in Aitken we have a pianist who uses his extraordinary powers in whatever music he plays for private ends—with results that are sometimes good for the music and sometimes not. And though there are wonderfully achieved moments, the operation on the whole doesn't seem to me good for Schubert.

Letters

Berle's "Revolution"

Dear Sirs: Recent years have seen a constant flow of propaganda, much of it highly erudite, designed to convince the ordinary mortal that big-business monopoly doesn't exist. But these theories of workable competition and countervailing power, like statistical "proofs" of declining concentration in industry, clash with day-to-day experience.

A. A. Berle, Jr., in his book, "The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution" (reviewed in *The Nation,* December 18), has come forward with a different approach, attracting public interest and critical acclaim. Monopoly is here, it is growing, says Berle. We have "concentration of economic ownership greater perhaps than any yet recorded in history." Corporate directors and managers are political and social powers as well, and their power "is in large measure absolute." Berle presents details impressively, with obvious knowledge of the inner structure of big business. He himself is attorney for the sugar "con-

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centrate"—a term that he prefers to monopoly.

Berle does not admit all this; he proclaims it. This is not ordinary monopoly; it is *American* monopoly. It has accomplished wonders; it constitutes a *revolution* (shades of James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution"!) leading to "an evolving economic Utopia."

The use of the term "revolution" may be helpful salesmanship, but it hardly corresponds with the facts presented. There has been no governmental overturn—that is, political revolution; nor class overturn—that is, social revolution. As Berle says: "Institutional corporations are guided by tiny self-perpetuating oligarchies . . . drawn from and judged by the group opinion of a small fragment of America—its business and financial community."

More important than the name is the content. Berle claims great accomplishments for American capitalism since World War I, his revolutionary starting point. This reader must take sharp issue. Berle claims that the 135 dominant corporations have partly achieved and are perfecting a planned economy. Certainly a giant ramified corporation plans *its own operations* quite elaborately. But it shows utter confusion to equate this with a national planned economy. Despite Berle's intimations that the motive of corporate planning is community welfare, the fact remains, as the author concedes at one point, that the aim is profits. Individual corporate plans aimed at profits come into well-known conflict with limited markets, unbalanced production patterns, rivalries with other giant corporations here and abroad. These lead to such "unplanned" results as the unprecedented crisis of 1929-32 (*after* Berle's "revolution") and such post-World War II phenomena as the collapse of the New England textile industry, the depression of the coal and railroad industries, "substantial labor surplus" in forty-eight labor-market areas in November, 1954.

But the main cause for concern is found in Mr. Berle's program for "Utopia." This is, in essence, that we the people should submit our lives to the "consciences" of the 135 great corporations, consciences which he believes are developing, which will guide the exercise of their power into benevolent channels and ultimately be codified in some new kind of corporation law.

Example: General Electric fires many employees and ruins them economically under "loyalty" procedures. This is fine so long as G. E. sticks to Communists, but who can be sure, worries the author, that some day G. E. may not decide to fire all Democrats. So let the conscience get to work. Let General Electric set up its own private court to try suspected subversives fairly!

Example: Automobile manufacturers arbitrarily took away the franchises of dealers who did not toe the line. There were complaints. The General Motors conscience went to work. It established an Appeals Board—of G. M. officials—to whom dealers can go if other G. M. officials take away their franchises.

The moral is clear. Nowhere in this book do the ordinary millions appear as active agents in the capitalist "revolution." They are mere objects of the absolute corporate power. Berle compares the corporations to Norman kings. If peasants had a complaint, they would appeal to the passing monarch, who, having a conscience, would mete out justice. So may the common man call on the corporate conscience and corporate law. By implication, let him give up the obsolete procedures of the ballot, elected officials, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights—not to speak of such petty hindrances as the anti-trust acts.

All this smacks of Mussolini's corporate system and Hitler's system of leaders and followers. I doubt that Berle wants this. But surrender to monopoly absolutism leads to such a dead end.

Flushing, N. Y. VICTOR PERLO

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Ford Madox Ford

Dear Sirs: I am at present engaged in preparing a study of the literary career of Ford Madox (Hueffer) Ford (1873-1939) and would appreciate it very much if anyone possessing letters or other material concerning his life and work would communicate with me. FRANK MACSHANE
Pittsfield, Mass.

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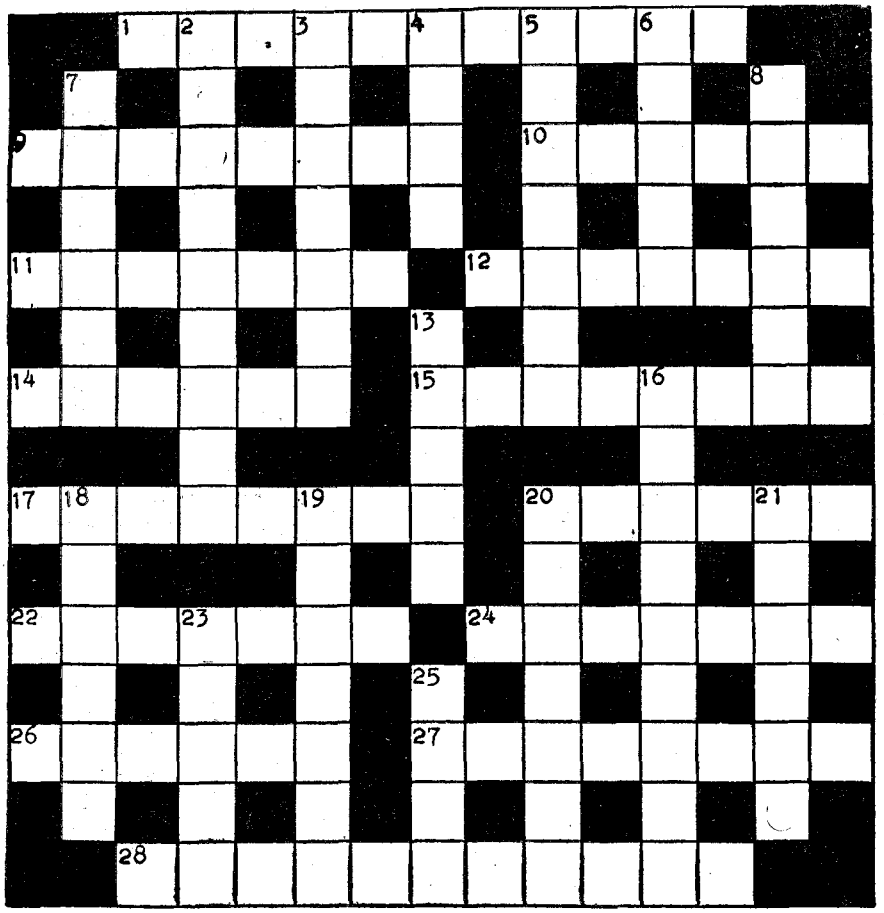
Crossword Puzzle No. 603

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 23 down. The result of little children being seen and not heard? (1, 5, 5, 5)
9, 10 and 18 down. Absence of good stage fare, long performances, and turkeys? (2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 6)
11 Tough. (7)
12 Acts relative, on one hand or the other, perhaps. (7)
14 If one had a child, one got a soul. (6)
15 His was an up-hill struggle. (8)
17 Be put away or given away. (8)
20 and 4 down. Did it appear original, after a fashion? (3, 3, 4)
22 Originally belonging to the cross-roads, hence common. (7)
24 At best I denote material change. (7)
26 Corny and coarse. (6)
27 Lays on. (8)
28 Concerning the hosts of the party? (11)

DOWN

2 Mean to trim Silver's old boss? (9)
3 Put in condition. (Even a hero might lie like this!) (7)
4 See 20 across.
5 Colors of leaves? (7)
6 Sausage and greens. (5)
7 Might be found in paper soldiers. (6)
8 A sort of unit is in its original place. (2, 4)
13 A group of contestants, just for the audience. (5)
16 Abstract particle, in all accuracy. (9)
18 See 9 across.
19 and 25 down. Your 21 as a famous sub-title? (4, 3, 4)
20 Buying and selling in the street, perhaps. (7)
21 See 19 and 25 down. (6)
23 See 1 across.
25 See 19 down.

~●~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 602

ACROSS:—1 EFFUSIVE; 5 GALLOP; 9 DYNAMIC; 10 FLAPPER; 11 ELECTRO; 12 YEARNED; 13 STATION WAGONS; 15 BEYOND COMPARE; 21 TORPEDO; 22 CHEVIOT; 23 CHARLES; 24 INITIAL; 25 ENMESH.

DOWN:—1 EDDIES; 2 FENDERS; 3 SUMATRA; 4 VICTORIA CROSS; 6 ALABAMA; 7 LEPANTO; 8 and 26 PARADISE REGAINED; 10 FLYING MACHINE; 14 OBSTACLE; 16 YARDARM; 17 NEEDLES; 18 AMERICA; 19 EDITION; 20 STYLED.

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